

1.

A  
MEMENTO:

DIRECTED

To all Those that Truly Reverence  
the Memory of KING

CHARLES  
the MARTYR;

And as Passionately with the Honour, Safety,  
and Happinesse of his Royall Successour,  
Our most Gracious Sovereign

Charles the II.

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THE FIRST PART.

---

By ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

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*Sic Canibus Catulos similes* — — —  
Virg.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy-lane,  
April the 11. 1662.

# MEMORIAL

DIRECTED

To all Those that Truly Repent

the Mercy of KING

## CHARLES

the SEVENTH

And as Testimony with the People of  
and His Majesty of his Royal Majesty  
On this 10th day of

## Charles the II.

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THE FIRST PART

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By ROGER LESTRANGE.

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At London Printed by  
the Printer of the

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Printed for Henry Baskin at the  
sign of the



TO THE  
RIGHT HONORABLE  
The EARL of  
CLARENDON  
Lord High CHANCELLOR  
OF  
ENGLAND.

My LORD,

**I**f that Owes more then he is Worth,  
and Payes as far as he is Able, is  
an Honelt Man; and That's My  
Case more wayes then One. Nor  
is it possible for Mee to Think of my Debts and  
not of your Lordships Bounties, at the same  
time: Under whose Roofe I have formerly

### The Epistle Dedicatory.

receiv'd so many, many Benefits. In the Establishment of That Felicity, I reckon'd my self as sure, as in the Possession of it. I did, (my Lord) and I must do so still, or do a harder, and a worse Thing, in Thinking Otherwise. For I am the same I was, and to suppose your Lordships good opinion, either Begun, or Ended without Reason, were to subject your Wisdome, or Stability to a Question.

Since so it is, (My Lord) that I cannot suspect your Kindnesse, without an injury to your Honour, nor let your Obligations sleep without some Testimony of my Thankfulnesse: Vouchsafe to know, (my Lord) that after more then Twenty Years spent in serving the Royall Interest: Near Six of them, in Gaoles; and almost Four, under a Sentence of Death, in Newgate; Fortune has been so kind, as to leave me yet a Bottle of Inke, and a Heap of Paper; out of which pittiful Remains, I make your Lordship a Present of a Book. This Book I humbly offer, (not to your Reading, or Thought, but) barely to your Countenance: Let it (my Lord) but wear the Credit of Your Patronage. Which I the rather wish, because

# The Epistle Dedicatory

because of a ~~Large~~ Pamphlet that I find Dedicated to your Lordship, by a Mournevall of Presbyterians, wherein my Name is not well us'd, and truly (if I am not Mistaken) His Majesties Justice and Authority much worse; about the Imprisonment of Mr. Crofton. ~~I must now~~ I must Proceed now to acquaint your Lordship; that beside the Honour of your Protection, I have great need of your Interest, and Favour: which yet I dare not Beg, for fear of Offending your Readinesse to do me all reasonable Justice without it. In Truth; it is not for a man either of my Nature, or Condition, to Thrive by Begging; for he that is both Poor and Honest, carries a Double Clogg: Especially in This Age, (my Lord) when (Heaven and Hell apart) 'tis a greater Scandal and Misfortune to be Indigent, then Treacherous.

But there are (my Lord) that do not stick to say, I'm Both: and I forgive with all my Soul, the Worst that ever was said of mee, with good Intention to the King. It is not long since I troubled your Lordship with a Paper

The Epistle Dedicatory. I

upon This Subject, in which (with Leave) I  
shall add a word or two.

Some will needs have it, that I do not sufficiently Deny the Six hundred Pound.

My Lord: I do so far deny it, that I wish That Penny, or Penyes-worth, which (to the best of my Knowledge) I ever receiv'd from any Creature of the Rebels Party, or by any Order from Them, or any of Them, may rise against Me at the Day of Judgment.

There is a further Rumour, as if Captain Whitlock should have sent me word that he would justifie it; whereas I never heard a Syllable from him to That Purpose, nor can the World shew the least Colour for the Truth of That Report.

Let me be Pardon'd (my Lord) if I conceive This Addresse not altogether Impertinent; for if it did belong to you to Condemne me, while you but Thought me Guilty; your Lordship is certainly Oblig'd in Honour, to Acquie me when you Know me Innocent. In This Particular, (my Lord) I think you are Bound to do me Right; but in what Follows,

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

**I**ows, I totally Depend upon your Favour.

There is a Pitiſfull creature, One Bagshaw;  
(a Chaplain to the Earl of Angleſie, and the  
Authour of the Animadverſions upon the  
Biſhop of Worſters Letter) This Fellow,  
when his hand was In, againſt the Biſhop, lends  
Mee a Lash too, for my Practices with Crom-  
well. Your Lordſhip would do me a Peculiar  
Honour, to Procure that he might be called  
before the Counſell, to make good his  
Charge: where, if I prove not Him That  
Villein, which he Pretends, I am, let Mee  
ſuffer for it.

**My LORD,**

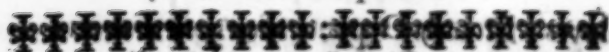
**I am,**

**Your Lordſhips**

**Moſt Obedient Servant,**

**Roger Leſtrange.**

April 11.  
1661.



## The Preface.

**T**HE Subject I have here undertaken leads mee into several *unlucky* Characters, which if they were like no-body, would be good for Nothing. *At bolding no Proportion with Nature, and Truth. If any man Imagine that he sees himself Here, let him keep his own Counsel, and Consider, that a Coat may be fit for him that was never made for him. His Answer was not amisse, that being Compleyn'd of so: by the Late Eminent Earl of Strafford, for having written a Libel: My Lord (sayes he): The Case is but This, I throw down a Fools Cap; This Gentleman takes it up, and has a Phansie that it fits Him. In short, Let not an Ill man find fault with a Vicious Character; For 'tis much worse to Practise Wickednesse than to Peint it.*

*The scope of This First Part which I here expose, is by Laying open the Workings and Series of the Last Rebellion; to disappoint the Purposes of another. The Second Part I reserve for more Particular Duties, both Christian, and Political; which shall follow sooner, or Later, according to the Enter-tennement which the World affords to This. The Author's Faults, are enow, without the Printers, of ~~Richson~~ ~~there are many~~, and I leave it to the Judicious Reader to Distinguish them.*

A MEMEN-

# A MEMENTO.

## PART. I. CAP. I.

### *The Matter and Causes of Seditions.*



*The Matter of Seditions* (according to *The Matter of*  
*Sir Francis Bacon*; whose words and *Sedition.*

Authority I shall often make use of in  
this little Treatise) is of two kinds; Much

Poverty; and much Discontentment.

*The Causes and Motives of Seditions* he reckons *The Causes*  
to be *These*. Innovation in Religion; Taxes; Al-  
teration of Lawes, and Customs; Breaking of Pri-  
vileges; General Oppression; Advancement of un-  
worthy Persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded  
Souldiers; Factions grown desperate. And what-  
soever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them  
in a common Cause.

*These Inconveniencies*, either seasonably discov-  
er'd, colourably pretended, or secretly promoted,  
are sufficient to the foundation of a Civil Warr.  
In which Negative and dividing Politiques, none  
better understood themselves than the Contrivers  
of our late Troubles: not only improving and fo-  
menting Discontentments, where they found them,  
and creating violent Jealousies, where there was but  
any place to imagine them; but They Themselves  
were the greatest gainers even by those Grievances

B

against

against which they complained: Reaping a double Benefit, first from the *Occasion* of the Difference, and then from the *Issue* of it.

The Remedy.

When a *seditions humor* is once mov'd, the best Remedy is to cut off the *Spring* that feeds it: by *pleasing* all sorts of People, so far as *Possible*, and by *Disabling* none, but upon *Necessity*. Which *Publique Tendernesse* must be so menaged, that the *Majesty* of the *Prince* be not lost in the *Goodnesse* of the *Person*: for nothing can be more *Dangerous* to a *Monarch*, then so to *over-come* the *Love* of his *People*, as to *lose* their *Respect*, or to *suffer* them to impute that to his *Baseness* which ought to be ascrib'd purely to his *Generosity*.

Contempt  
more fatal to  
Kings then  
Hatred.

Offences of That *Daring*, and *Unthankfull* *Quality*, can scarce be pardon'd, without some hazard to the *Authority* that remits them: *Servile Contempts* being much more fatal to *Kings*, then *Publick* and *Audacious Malice*: the latter commonly spending it self in a *particular* and *fruitlesse* *Malignity* toward the *Person*, (and that with *Terror* too, as being secur'd under a *Thousand* *Guards* of *Majesty* and *Power*) whereas the *Other* privily taints the whole *Masse* of the *People*, with a *Mutinous* *Leaven*, giving *Boldnesse* to *conspirers*, *Courage* to *executors*; and, if the *Plot* miscarries, there's the *hope* of *Mercy* to *Ballance* the *peril* of the *Undertaking*. For a *Conclusion* of this *Point*, *He* that but *Thinks* *Irre- verently* of his *Prince*, *deposes* him.

Concerning the *Materials* of *Sedition*, viz. *Po- verty* and *Discontentment*: it would be *cocks* to dissolve these *General Heads* into *Particular Rules*: the



the best advice in This Case must be General too; that is, to endeavour to remove whatever Causes them, referring the Particulars to Counsell, and Oc-  
casion.

'Tis very well observ'd by the Lord St. Albans Poverty breeds touching Poverty: [ So many overthrown Estates, Sedition, so many Votes for Troubles; and if this Poverty, and Broken Estate in the Better sort, be join'd with a Want and Necessity, in the mean People, the Danger is Great and Imminent: ] which to prevent, [ Above all things (sayes, the same Author) good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneys, in a State, be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve: And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. ] And again [ A numerous Nobility, causeth Poverty, and Inconvenience in a State, for it is a Surcharge of Expence.

A numerous Nobility causeth Poverty.

As to the Seeds of Discontentments, they are as various as the Humours they encounter: dependent many times upon Opinion; and Inconsiderable in Themselves, however Notorious in their Effects.

Touching the Discontentments Themselves, it is the Advice of the Lord Verulam, [ That no Prince, measure the danger of them by This; Whether they be just or Unjust for thus were to imagine People to be too Reasonable; Nor yet by This, whether the griefs whereupon they rise, be in Fact, great or small: For They are the most Dangerous, where the Fear is greater then the Feeling.

Fears and Jealousies.

Such were those furious, and implacable Jealousies, that started the late *War*, which doubtless may more properly be accounted among the *Dangers* of a *Disease*, or the *Illusions* of a dark *Melancholy*; then the *Deliberate Operations* of a *Sober Reason*.

Proceed we now from the *Master*, and more remote *Causes* of *Seditions*, to the *Approaches* and *Prognosticks* of them.

## CAP. II.

## The Tokens and Prognostiques of Seditions.

IT is in many Cases with *Bodies Politique*, as it is with *Natural Bodies*; Both perish, by *Delaying* till the *Distemper* be grown too strong for the *Medicine*: Whereas by watching over, and applying to the *first Indispositions* of the Patient, how easie is the *Remedy* of a *Disease*, which in one day more perhaps becomes *Incurable*? Some take it for a poynt of *Bravery*, not to own any *Danger* at a *Distance*, lest they should seem to *fear* it. Others are too *short-sighted* to discern it: So that betwixt the *Rash* and the *Stupid*, (a large Proportion in the Division of the World) we are past the *help* of *Physicks*, before we can perswade our selves we need it.

*Dangers* (sayes the Incomparable *Bacon*) are no more light, if they once seem light: and more dangers have deceived Men, than forced them. Nay it were better;

better, to meet some dangerous half-way, though they  
come nothing near, than to stop sliding and to slip  
their Approaches, for if a man meets sliding, it is  
 odds he will fall asleep.

Neither, let any man measure the Quality of the Danger, by That of the Offender: for again, [In the Matter, not the Person, that is to be considered, Treason is contagious, and a Rat may bring the Plague into the City, as well as a Great man.] I do the rather press This Caution, because Security was the fault of those to whom I did & in

But what awaits us in the *History* of Dangers, without the *skill*, and *experience* of *Surgeons* and *Physicians*? Or what hinders us from the *fore-knowledge* of those *Effects*, to which we are led by a most evident, and certain train of *Causas*? *States* have their *Maladies*, as well as *Persons*; and those *All* *parts* have their *peculiar Accidents* and *Affections*, their proper *Issues*, and *Prognostiques*: upon the true *Judgements* of which *Circumstances* depends the *Life* and *Safety* of the *Particular*. Not to play the fool with an *All-generall* *Beast*, and *Time* to observe the *Gauging* of the *Gloods* before they are wrought into a *Storm*.

[illegible]

The danger of  
Libels.

They need not run beyond our Memorials. And

This Point; it being within the Ken of our own Notice, that Libells were not only the *Forerunners*, but, in a high Degree, the *Causes* of our late *Troubles*: and what were the frequent, open, and *Licentious Discourses of Clarks in Pulpits*, but the ill-boding Play of *Ensigns* before a *Tempest*?

We may remember also the *Raise* of *Plots* against the *Religion*, and *Liberties* of the Nation; and how the *King* was charg'd, as an *Abettor* of the *Design*.

We may remember likewise, how the *Irish Blood* was cast upon the account of his late *Sacred Majesty*, even by *Those men* whose *guilty Souls* are to *Reckon* with *Divine Justice* for every Drop of

Neither have we forgotten with what *Care* and *Diligence* *These* *Fallsheds* were *dispers'd*; with what *Greediness* they were *swallow'd*; nor what *ensu'd* upon it.

If we look well about us, we may find *This* *Kingdom*, at *this* *Instant* *labouring* under the same *Distempers*: *Their* *First* *Design*, and as *bold*; *Sermons* as *factious*; *Pamphlets* as *seditious*; the *Governments* *disorder'd*; and the *Defamers* of it (if *Presbyterians*) *scape* better than their *Accusers*. The *Lectures* of the *Faction* are throng'd with *Presumed* *Conventions* and *Scandalous Reports* against the *King*, and *State*, as *current* now as they were twenty years agoe.

These were ill *Tokens* *Then*, and do they signify just nothing *Now*? What means all *This* but the

new

new Christening of the Old Cause; the doing over again of the *Prologue* to the last *Tragedy*.

Sir FRANCIS BACON proceeds, that *Disputing*, *Excusing*, *Cavilling* upon *Mandates* and *Directions*, is a kind of shaking of the Toak, and *Assay* of disobedience; Especially, if in those disputings, they which are for the direction, speak *Fearfully*, and *seemingly*; and those that are against it, *Audaciously*.

Herein is Judiciously expressed the Motion, or Gradation, from Duty to Disobedience. The first stepp, is to *Dispute*; as who should say, *I will if I may*. The very *Doubt* of obeying, subjects the authority to a *Question*, and gives a dangerous hint to the People, that *Kings* are accountable to their Subjects.

To *Excuse*, is a degree worse; for That's no other, then a *Refusal* of Obedience, in a tacit Regard either of an *Unjust Command*, or of an *Unlawful Power*.

To *Cave* at the *Mandates* of a Prince, is an express *Affront* to his *Dignity*, and within one Remove of *Violence*.

Through these Degrees, and *Slidings* from *Good* to *Worse*, from one *Wickedness* to *Another*, our late *Reformers* travail'd the whole Scale of *Treason*; as the *Scene* chang'd, shifting their *Habits*, till at last, quitting the *Disguise* of the Kings *Loyal Subjects*, they became his *Murderers*.

What's more familiar at this Day, than *Disputing* his Majesties *Orders*; *disobeying* his *Proclamations*,

and dissensions of Parliament? Whereof there are so many, and so Audacious Instances, it shall suffice to have made this General mention of them.

Sir F. B.

Another Observation is, that, When Discords and Quarrels, and Factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the Reverence of Government is lost.

This was the temper of that Injuncture, when the Schismatical Part of the two Houses, and the Tumultuary Rabble joyn'd their Interests against Bishops, and the Earl of Strafford; which Insolence was but a Prelude to the succeeding Rebellion.

And are not Factions carried Openly and Audaciously now? when the Promoters, and Justifiers of the Murder of the late King, are still continued publique Preachers, without the least Pretence to a Retraction? Dilating still, by Gestures, Shrugs, and Signs, Their Treason to their Auditory which they dare not Utter? What are their Sermons, but Declarations against Bishops; Their Covenant-keeping Exhortations, but the contempt of an establish'd Law? How it comes to pass, Heaven knows; but These Honest Fellows can come off for Printing and Publishing down-right Treason, when I have much adoe to scape for Telling of it.

Whither these Liberties tend, let any man look over his shoulder, and faine himself.

When

When any of the Four Pillars of Government, are <sup>Sic F. R.</sup> mainly shaken, or weakened, (which are Religion, Justice, Counsell, and Treasure,) men had need to pray for fair weather.

To speak only of the last, The want of Treasure was the Ruine of the late King; Through which defect, his Officers were expos'd to be Corrupted, his Counsellors to be Betray'd, his Armies to be ill Pay'd, and consequently not well Disciplin'd. Briefly, where a Prince is Poor, and a Faction Rich, the Purse is in the wrong Pocket.

*Multis utile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible Sign, of a State disposed to Seditions and Troubles, and it must needs be, that where War seems the Interest of a People, it should be likewise the Inclination of them.

Touching the General Matter, Motives, and Prognostiques, of Sedition, enough is said; Wee'l now enquire into the special cause of the late Rebellion.

C

CAP.



## CAP. III.

*The True Cause of the late Warr,*  
**was AMBITION.**

The Rise of  
the late War.

**T**HE true Cause of the late Warr, was *Ambition*: which being lodg'd in a confederate *Cabale* of *Scotch*, and *English*, drew the corrupted Interests of both Kingdoms into the *Conspiracy*: to wit, the *factious*, *covetous Malecontents*, *Criminals*, *Debtors*; and finally, all sorts of men, whose *crimes*, *necessities*, or *Passions*, might be secur'd, reliev'd, or gratifi'd by a change of Government. To these, were joyn'd, the *credulous*, *weak Multitude*; the clamour being *Religion*, *Law*, and *Liberty*: And here's the sum of the *Design*, *Presence*, and *Party*.

This *League* we may presume was perfected in 1637. First from the *correspondent Practices* in both Nations, appearing Manifestly about that time: Next, 'tis remarkable, that the *English Pardon* has a Retrospect to the beginning of the *Scotch Tumults*; (Jan. 1. 1637. Three years before the meeting of the Long Parliament) which Provision seems to intimate That *Conspiracy*. And now the *Poyson* begins to work.

The first Tumult against the Service-book.

Upon the 23 of *July* in the same year, (according to a *Publique Warning* given the Sunday before)



fore) the *Dean* of *Edinburgh* began to read the *Service-Book* in the Church of *St. Giles*: whereupon ensued so horrid a Tumult, that the *Bishop* was like to have been Murder'd in the *Pulpit*; and after Sermon scaped narrowly with his life to his Lodgings.

The particular recital of their following Infolencies upon the *Bishop* of *Galloway*, the *Earls* of *Traguir* and *Wigton*; the besieging of the *Council-House*, and contempts of the *Council*, their Audacious *Petitions* against the *Service-book*, and *Cannons*, I shall pass over, as not belonging to my purpose.

Upon the 19 of *Febr.* following, a *Proclamation* was publish'd against their *Seditious Meetings*, which they encounter with an *Antiprotest*, and presently erect their *Publique Tables* of *Advice* and *Counsell* for Ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom. The Method whereof was This. *Four principal Tables* they had. *One* of the *Nobility*; a *Second* of the *Gentry*; a *Third* of the *Burroughs*; a *Fourth* of *Ministers*. And These *Four* were to prepare Matters for the *General Table*; which consisted of *Commissioners* chosen out of the *Rest*.

The first Act of this *General Table* was their *Se- lewn Covenant*; a Contrivance principally promoted by persons formerly engaged in a *Conspiracy* against the *King*, and, among others, by the Lord *Balmerino*, a *Pardon'd Traitor*, and the Son of One. His *Father* had been a *Favorite*, and principal *Secretary* to *King James*, and rais'd by him out of Nothing, to his *Estate*, and *Dignity*. Yet

The Covenan-  
ters usurp the  
Supreme Au-  
thority.

The Institution  
of the *Scotish*  
*Covenant*.

The Promo-  
ters of it.

was this thankless Wretch Arraign'd for, and Attainted of high Treason, and after Sentence to be Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd, he was by the Kings Mercy Pardon'd, and Restor'd. Another eminent Covenanter was the Earl of Argyll, of whom Walker gives this Accompt.

Hist. Indep.  
Appendix,  
pag. 14.

He brought his Father to a Pension; outed his Brother of his Estate Kintyre; ruin'd his Sisters by cheating them of their Portions, and so enforcing them into Cloysters.

It must needs be a Conscientious Design with such Saints as These in the Head of it.

The Covenant  
a Rebellious  
Vow.

This Covenant was effectually no other then a Rebellious Vow to oppose the Kings Authority, and Justifie Themselves in the exercise of the Sovereign Power, which they assum'd, to a degree even beyond the claim of Majesty it self, pleading the Obligation of the Covenant, to all their Usurpations.

A Plea for  
Treason.

The Usurpation  
of the Co-  
venanters.

They Levied Men and Moneys; Seiz'd the Kings Magazines, and Strong Holds; Rais'd Forts; Begirt his Castles; Affronted his Majesties Proclamations; Summon'd Assemblies; Proclaim'd Fasts; Deprived, and Excommunicated Bishops; Abolish'd Episcopacy; Issued out Warrants to choose Parliament-Commissioners; Renounced the Kings Supreme Authority; Trampled upon Acts of Parliament; pressing their Covenant upon the Privy Council. They gave the last Appeal to the generality of the People; discharging Counsellors, and Judges of their Allegiance; and threatening them with Excommuni-

cation.

cation, in case they disobeyed the Assembly.

All this they did, according to the Covenant; and whether This was Religion or Ambition, let the World judge.

These Affronts drew the King down with an Army to the Borders, and within two miles of *Barwick*, the two Bodies had an *Enterview*; *March 28. 1639.* But the *Scots* craving a *Treaty*, his Majesty most graciously accorded it; *Commissioners* were appointed; *Articles* agreed upon; and a *Pacification* Concluded. *June 17.*

A Pacification with the Scots.

Not one Article of this Agreement was observ'd on the Covenanters part; but immediately upon the Discharge of his Majesties Forces, the *Scots* brake forth into fresh Insolencies, and Encroachments upon the *Prerogative*: addressing to the *French King* for assistance against their Native Sovereign: And yet the Quarrel was, as they pretended, for the *Protestant Religion*, and against *Popery*.

Their Insolency.

In *August 1640.* they entred *England*, and upon a *Treaty at Rippon* soon after, a *cessation* is agreed upon, referring the decision of all differences to a more *General Treaty* at *London*.

They enter England.

In *November* began the *Long Parliament*; and now the Scene is *London*: Where with great License and Security, Parties are made; and Insolencies against the Government committed and Authorized under protection of the *Scotch Army*, and the *City Tumults*. By degrees, matters being prepar'd and ripen'd, they found it opportune, soon

The influence of the Scotch Army, and the City Tumults, upon the long Parliament.

after, to make something a more direct attempt upon the Sovereignty, but by request first; and resolving if that way fail, to try to force it.

The two Houses usurp the Militia.

In Jan. they Petition for the Militia: In February, they secure the Tower; and in March, Petition again for't: but so that they Protest, if his Majesty persist to deny it, they are Resolv'd to take it: And the next day it is Resolv'd upon the Question, That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a Posture of defence, by Authority of both Houses of Parliament.

The Rebellion begins at Hull.

In April 1642. the Earl of Warwick seizes the Navy, and Sir John Hatham, Hull; Refusing the King entrance; which was Justified by an Ensuing Vote; and his Majesties Proclamming him Traitor for it, was Voted, a Breach of Privilege.

The Kings Defence of himself, Voted a Warr against his Parliament.

In May; the pretended Governour of Hull sends out Warrants to raise the Trayned Bands, and the King (then at York) forbids them; moving the County for a Regiment of the Trayned Foot, and a Troop of Horse, for the Guard of his Royal Person; whereupon it was Voted, That the King, seduced by wicked Counsell, intended to make a Warr against his Parliament, and that whatsoever should assist him, were Traitors.

Treasonous Positions of the Two Houses.

They proceed then to corrupt and displace divers of his Servants, forbidding others to go to him. They stop and seize his Majesties Revenue; and declare, that whatsoever they should Vote, is not by Law to be Questioned, either by the King, or Subjects; No Precedent can limit or bound their proceedings. A Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the

King

King or People have any right. The Sovereign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament. The King hath no Negative Voyce. The levying of Warr against the Personal commands of the King, though accompanied with his presence, is not a levying of Warr against the King: but a levying Warr against his Laws and Authority (which they have power to declare) is levying Warr against the King. Treason cannot be committed against his Person otherwise then as he was Intrusted. They have Power to judge whether he discharge his Truist or not, that if they should follow the highest precedents of other Parliaments Patterns, there would be no cause to complain of want of Modesty or Duty in them; and that is belonged only to them to Judge of the Law.

Having stated and extended their Powers, by an Absurd, Illegal, and Impious severing of the Kings Person from his Office, their next work is to put Those Powers in Execution; And to subject the sacred Authority of a Lawfull Monarch, to the Ridiculous, and Monstrous Pageantry of a Headlesse Parliament: and That's the Business of the 19. Propositions demanding,

That the great affairs of the Kingdom, and Militia, may be managed by consent and Approbation of Parliament; all the great affairs of State, Privy Councell, Ambassadors, and Ministers of State, and Judges, be chosen by Them; that the Government Education and Marriage of the Kings Children, be by Their consent, and approbation; and all the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom, put under the Command and Custody of such as They should

Deposing Propositions of.  
Just 2.

*should approve of, and that no Peers to be made hereafter, should sit and Vote in Parliament.*

*They desire further, that his Majesty would discharge his Guards; Eject the Popish Lords out of the House of Peers, and put the Penal Lawes against them, strictly in Execution; and finally, that the Nation may be govern'd either by the Major part of the Two Houses, or in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Major part of the Councell; and that no Act of State may be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority without Them.*

The Cause of  
the Warr, was  
Ambition.

Upon These terms they insisted, and Rais'd a Warr to Extort them; So that tis clear, they both design'd and fought, to Dethrone his Majesty, and exercise the Sovereign Power, Themselves: which was to suit their Liberty of Acting to That of Sitting, and to make themselves an Almighty, as well as an Everlasting Parliament.

#### C A P. IV.

*The Instruments, and Means, which the Conspirators employed to make a Party.*

**T**HAT Their Design was to Usurp the Government, is Manifest: Now to the Instruments and Sleights they us'd to compass it.

The Rabble  
were the Pil-  
lars of the  
Cause.

The Grand Projectors knew very well that the strength of their Cause depended upon the favour of  
the

the *Ignorant* and *Licentious Multitude*; which made them court all people of That Mixture, to their Party, (for men of *Brain* and *Conscience* would never have agreed to a Conspiracy, against so *clear a Light*, so *just an Interest*); and Those they found their fast Friends, whom neither the *Horror* of *Sin*, nor the brightest *evidence* of *Reason* was able to work upon.

To fit and dispose Both Humours to their purpose; the first scruple they Started was *Religion*: which taken as they used it, in the external *form*, and *jingle* of it, is beyond doubt, the best *Cloke* for a *Knave*, and the best *Rattle* for a *Fool* in Nature. Under This Countenance, the *Murder* of the *King* pass'd for a *Sacrifice* of *Expiation*, and those *Brute-Animals*, that scarce knew the *Bible* from the *Alcoran*, were made the Arbitratours of the Difference.

Religion the  
Pretext.

The fear of *Popery*, was the *Leading Jealousie*, which Fear was much promoted, by *Pamphlets*, *Lectures*, and *Conventicles*. Still coupling *Popery*, and *Prelacy*; *Ceremonies*, and the *Abominations* of the *Whore*: by these resemblances of the Church of *England*, to That of *Rome*, tacitly instilling, and bespeaking, the same Disaffection to the *one*, which the people had to the *other*. Their Zeal was first employ'd upon the Names of *Priests*, and *Altar*, the *Service-book*, *Church-habits*, and *Ceremonies*: From Thence, they stept to the Demolishing of *Church-Windows*, *Images*, *Crosses*: the *Persons* of the *Bishops* went to'r next, and Then the *Office*. Thus far the *Rabble* Carry'd it, the *Leaders* at last sharing the

Their Zeal against  
Popery.

The Methode  
of the Reformation.

D

*Revenues*;

*Revenues*; and here's the *Reformation* of the *Hierarchy* complete.

Rebellion divides God and the King.

When by these Scandalous *Impossures*, the Duties of a *Christian* and a *Subject*; *Conscience* and *Loyalty*, seem once to *enterfere*, what can be looked for, but *Rebellion*, from a Loose *Multitude* that think themselves discharged of their *Allegiance*?

Scandals Improved,

and Invented.

All Governments are lyable to Abuses, and so was Ours, among the Rest; where *Personal Faylings*, and *Excesses*, were improv'd into the Fame of an *Universal Prophaneness*, or *Apostacy*. Nor did they reckon it enough to *Expose*, and *Aggravate* *Particular miscarriages*, and *Humane Fraylties*; but the most *horrid Crimes* Imaginable, were without either *Proof*, or *Ground*, or *Colour*, laid to the Charge of the *Episcopal* and *Royal Party*; Both which were ruin'd by the same *Method* of *Calumny*, and *Sedition*.

The late King was betray'd by Presbyterians in his Council,

The main Encouragement to their Attempt, was that, The *Presbyterians* had a strong Party in the *Kings Council*; (and this His Majesty himself takes notice of, in his Large Declaration of 1639. Pag. 124.) by which means, the *Kings Counsels* were both *Disfranchised* and *Beitray'd*: and the *Conspiratours* Secure (at Worst) of *Mediatours* for a *Commodious Peace*, in case they Fayl'd of a *Successful Warr*. Nor did this Confidence deceive them, in the following *Enterview* of the Armies near *Barwick*, where the *Covenanters* had been almost as easily Beaten as look'd upon, had not the Quarrel been taken up by an *Importune*, and *dear-bought Peace*; for that expedi-



expedition cost more Money, only to face the *Scotch Rebels*, then would afterward have serv'd His Majesty to have *Reduced the English*.

A Dear Peace,  
the cause of a  
long Warr.

Throughout the Menage of their Affairs, it may be Observed that they had these *Three regards*, *Tria Principia*.

still in their eye, and Care. 1. To *Reproche* his Majesties Government. 2. To *Animate*, and Reward his Enemies: And 3. To *Persecute* his Friends: And still as any thing Struck, a Tumult ready at a dead lift to help it forward: For they were not Ignorant, that the King was to be *Defam'd* before he could be *Disarm'd*; *Disarm'd*, before *Depos'd*; *Deprived* of his Friends, before *Despoil'd* of his Rights and Privileges: and *That* being their *Design*, This was Rationally to be their *Methode*.

The Methode  
of Treason.

Their first Up roar about the *Service-book*, was but a wild tryall how far the *Multitude* would *Engage*, and the *Magistrate Endure*; which appeared in This, that the *City-Magistrates* did at first, *Barely*, and Publickely *Protest*, not only *against* the *Outrage*, but *for* the *Liturgy*: not daring to do Otherwise; till a while after, Encouraged by the *Boldness* and *Importunity* of the *Offenders*, and the *Patience* of some in *Authority*, those very Persons did in their *Pulpits*, and *Discourses*, magnifie that *Beastly Crew* for the *Worthies* of the Age, whom just before they had decry'd for *Rogues* and *Villains*. The Truth is, they were Then about to play the *Rogues*, *Themselves*; and when Persons of *Quality* turn *Rascals*, Then do *Rascals* become Persons of *Quality*.

Rebellion begins in Confusion, and ends in Order.





At the *beginning* of the *Broyle*, *half a dozen broken Heads* had saved *Three Kingdoms*. Who would have *own'd* That *Rabble*, had they been *Worsted*? or, What *Resistance* could they have made to any *Legal Opposition*? But they were *Flatter'd* to be *Quiet*, and That advanc'd this *Tumult* to a *Party*; the *Faction* growing every day, more and more *Formidable*.

As their *Strength* encreased, so did their *Pretences*, both in *Number*, and *Weight*; and nothing less would content them, then to strip the *King* as bare, as they had done the *Bishops*. The *Particulars* of their *Insolencies* are too many for a *Treatise*, and, in *Truth*, too foul for a *Story*; but in *grosse*, nothing was wanting to the perfection of the *Wickedness*, which either *Hypocrisie*, *Perjury*, *Treason*, *Sacrilege*, *Rapine*, *Oppression*, *Forgery*, *Scandal*, *Breach of Faith*, *Malice*, *Murder*, or *Ingratitude* could *Contribute*. All which, in every *Poynt* shall be made good by several *Instances*, if any man require it.

The *English* follow the *Scottish Pattern*.

We'll now look homeward; where we shall find the *English Rebellion* wrought, to a *Thrid*, according to the *Trace* of the *Scottish Pattern*.

The *Presse* and *Pulpis* were already at the *Devotion* of the *Reforming Party*, the *Covenanters* had an *Army* on *Foot*, and the *Schismatiques* were prepar'd for a *General Rising*; at which time, his Majesty, summon'd a *Parliament*, to assemble in *November* following.

In This Convention, those of the *Confederacy*, made it their first work, to engage the *People*, by ripping up of *Common Grievances*, *Breach of Laws*, and *Priviledges*; and by contending to assert their *Rights, Liberties, and Religion*, against the Encroachments of *Prerogative*, and *Papery*. Being Secure of their *Party*, they propose next, the *Manner* of accomplishing their Purpose; which must be Effected by *Craft*, and *Terrour*. In Order whereunto, they first attack'd two of his Majesties prime *Counsellours* and *Confidants*, the *Earl of Strafford*, and the *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*. (Two Persons worthy of the Kings Trust, and Kindnesse, however Worried by the Multitude). To weaken the *Lords House*, they nulled the *Bishops Votes*, and Committed 12 of them for *Treason*: Five of the *Judges* were Committed likewise: and to dispose the *Lower House*, nothing was wanting which either *Force*, *Flattery*, *Corruption*, or foul-play in *Elections*, could Procure them.

The Prologue:  
to the late  
Warr.

Loyalty per-  
secuted.

So far as the King *Granted*, all went well; but if his Majesty *deny'd* them any thing, the Fault was Laid upon his *Evill Counsellours*: under which Notion all his *Friends* were comprehended. So that his Choyce was This; either to *give* away his *Crown*, or to have it *wrested* from him.

In *May*, the Faction of the *Two Houses* Publish'd a *Protestation*, (which was but a Gentle slip into the *Prerogative Royal* to try their Interest, and by degrees to inure the *People* to their intended, and succeeding *Usurpations*. Some Four or Five dayes after, were signed those *Two Fatal Bills*, for the



Rebellion Rewarded.

Death of the *Earl of Strafford*, and the *Perpetuity* of the *Parliament*: and having now gain'd leave to sit as long as they please, they have little further to ask, but that they may likewise do what they list.

Where *Loyalty* was made a *Crime*, 'twas fit *Rebellion* should pass for a *Virtue*. Upon which suitable equity, The *Scots* were Justified, and Voted, our *Dear Brethren*; 300000 *l.* in *June* 1641. and Six-score Thousand more in *August* following; and so we Parted.

The King goes for Scotland.

In this *Perplexity* of Affairs, the King takes a journey into *Scotland*, if Possible. to secure an Interest There; but the Conspiracy was gone too far to be compos'd by Gentleness. Upon his Majesties Departure, the Houses adjourn, and during the Recesse, appoint a standing Committee, and They forthwith must have a Guard, for fear of their own Shadows. In which Interval of the Kings Absence, the Usurpers lost no time, as appear'd by their readiness to Entertain him at his Return: When the first Present they made his Majesty, was the *Petition*, and *Remonstrance* of *December* 15. which I cannot think upon, but That Text comes into my mind of *Mark* 15. 18. [*Haile King of the Jews, and they smote him on the head with a Reed, and spat upon him, and bowed the Head, and did him Reverence.*]


His Welcome at his Return.



The King Affronted by Tumults first;

This *Impious Libell* was seconded with an *Audacious Tumult*, even at the Gates of the Kings Palace, and it was now high time for his Majesty to enquire into the *Contrivers* and *Abettours* of these and other the like *Indignities*, and *Proclamation* was accordingly

dingly made for the *Apprehending* of them ; which very *Proclamation* was Declared to be a *Paper False*, *Scandalous*, and *Illegal*. And Then for  
compleyning  
of them.

After This *Language*, what had they more to do, but by Armed *Violence* to *invade* the *Sovereignty*, and to emprove a *loose*, and *Popular Sedition*, into a *Regular Rebellion* ? Which was a little hastened too, (even beside the *Termes* of Ordinary *Prudence* ) to emplunge their *Complices* beyond *Retreat*, before they should discern that hideous *Gulfe* into which their *Sin*, and *Folly* was about to lead them. To keep their *Zeal*, and *Fury* waking ; the *Faction* had a singular *Faculty* at *Inventing* of *Plots* ; *Counterfeiting Letters* ; *Intercepting Messages* ; *over-hearing Conspiracies* ; which *Artificial Delusions* (especially asserted by the pretended *Authority* of a *Parliament*, and a *Pulpit*) could not but work strong *Effects* of *Scruple*, and *Jealousie*, upon a *prejudging* and *distemper'd* *People*. 

These were the means and steps by which they gain'd That *Power*, which afterward they Employ'd in *Opposition* to those very *Ends* for which they *sware* they *Rays'd* it ; leaving us neither *Church*, nor *King*, nor *Law*, nor *Parliaments*, nor *Properties*, nor *Freedoms*. Behold ; the *Blessed Reformation* ! Wee'll *slipp* the *Warr*, and see in the next place what *Government* they *Gave* us in *Exchange* for That they had *Subverted*.

## C A P. V.

*A Short View of the Breaches and Confusions  
betwixt the Two Factions, from 1648.  
to 1654.*

**I**T cannot be expected that a *Power*, acquir'd by *Bloud* and *Treason*; maintain'd by *Tyranny*; the *Object* of a *General Curse*; and *Horror* both of *God*, and *Nature*; only *United* against *Justice*, and at *Perpetual Variance* with it self; — I say, it cannot be expected, that such a *Power* as *This*, should be *Immortal*. Yet is it not enough barely to argue the *Fatality* of *Wickedness*, from the *Certainty* of *Divine Vengeance*; and There to stopp: — *Usurpers* are not *Rays'd* by *Miracle*, nor *cast down* by *Thunder*; but by our *Crimes*, or *Follies* they are *Exalted*, and Then, by the *Fatuity* of their own *Counsels*, down they *Tumble*. Wherefore let us *Enquire* into the *Springs*, and *Reasons* of their *Fortunes*, and *Falls*; as well as *Gaze* upon the *Issues* of them; A timely search into the *Grounds* of *one Rebellion*, may prevent *another*. How the *Religious Opposers* of the late King *advanced* themselves against his *Sacred Authority*, we have already shew'd; be it our business here, to *Observe* their workings, *one* upon the *other*.

To

To begin with *Them* that began with *Us*: The *Presbyterians*, having first asserted the *Peoples Cause* against the *Prerogative*, and attempting afterward to Establish *Themselves*, by using *Prerogative-Arguments* against the *People*; found it a harder matter to Erect on *Aristocracy* upon a *Popular Foundation*, then to subvert a *Monarchy* upon a *Popular Pretense*; or to dispose the *Multitude* (whom they themselves had Declar'd to be the *Supreme Power*) to lay down their Authority at the Feet of their *Servants*. In fine, they had great Difficulties to struggle with, and more then they could overcome: (I mean, *great Difficulties* in point of *Interest*, and *Conduct*; for those of *Honour* and *Conscience*, they had subdu'd long since) They strove however, till, oppress'd by a *General Hatred*, and the Rebound of their own *Reasonings*, they Quitted to the *Independents*.

The *Presbyterians* ruin'd by their own Arguments.

Thus departed the *Formal Bauble*, *Presbytery*; *England* a succeeded, for the next Four years, by the *Phanatisme* of a *Free-State*. The better half of which time, being successfully Employ'd in the subjecting of *Scotland*, and *Ireland* to their *Power*, and *Model*, and to complete their *Tyranny* over the *Kings Best Subjects*, and their *Usurpations* over his *Royal Dominions*; their next work was to make themselves Considerable *Abroad*, and 'twas the Fortune of the *Dutch* to feel the First proof of That Resolution.

Quarrels with  
the Dutch.

Between these *Rivall States* pass'd Six *Encounters* in 1652. most of them Fierce and Bloudy, the Last especially, a Tearing one. Upon the whole, the *Dutch* Lost more, but the *English* got little, beside the *Honour* of the *Victory*; in which particular, the *Kingdom* pay'd dear for the *Reputation* of the *Common-wealth*.

The Long-  
Parliament  
dissolved.

This *Success* rays'd the *Pride* and *Vanity* of the *English*, so that at next *Bout*, nothing less would serve them than an *Absolute Conquest*. But while they are *Providing* for it, and in the *Huff* of all their *Glory*; behold the *Dissolution* of the *Long-Parliament*; which whether it *Began* or *Ended*, more to the *Satisfaction* of the *People*, is a Point not yet decided.

*Dissolved* however it is, and *Rebuk'd* for *Corruptions*, and *Delays*, by *Cromwell*; who with his *Officers*, a while after, Summon a *new Representative*; and *Constitute* a *new Counsell* of State, compos'd of *Persons* entirely disaffected to the *Common-wealth*. This *Little*, *Ridiculous* Convention, thought to have done mighty Matters, but the *Plot Vented*, and *Vanish'd*.

Barbours Par-  
liament :-  
Their Acts.

Some of their *Memorable Fopperies* are These; The *Famous Act* concerning *Marriages*, was *Theirs*; they pass'd likewise an *Act* for an *Assessment* of 120000 *l. per Menssem*; they *Voted* down the *Chancery* and *Tithes*; they *Voted* also a *total Alteration* of the *Laws*.

All of a mind they were not, and for *Distinction* sake, the company was divided into the *Honest Party*, and the *Godly Party*. Of the *Former*, were

*Crom-*



*Cromwell's Creatures, and of the Other, Barebones ; or rather, Harrisons ; (the Person they had design'd for General, if they could perswade Cromwell to quit his Security for some additional Title of Dignity.) These Zealous Patriots Commonly brought their Bibles into the House with them ; and as I am Enform'd, diverse of them were seeking the Lord with Vavasor Powell, when This following trick was put upon them.*

Their Zeal.

An Hour or two sooner in the morning then usual, Decemb. 12. he that they call'd their *Speaker* took the *Chayre* ; and it was presently *Mov'd* and *Carry'd*, (for several Reasons) *to re-assign their Power to him from whom they had it ;* which was immediately persu'd, and so they made *Cromwell* a *Prince*, for making *Them* a *Parliament*.

Their Dissolution.

The corruption of a Conventicle, is the Generation of a Protector.

This gracious *Resignation* produc'd that blessed *Instrument of Government*, by which the *Hypocrite* was made *Protector* ; and now forsooth the style is chang'd from *The Keepers of the Liberry of England by Authority of Parliament*, into *Oliver Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.* who was *Installed* and *Sworn*, Decemb. 16. 1653.

*Cromwell Installed, and Sworn Protector.*

To his Assistance was Appointed a Counsell of 21. the *Quorum*, 13. By whom immediately upon the Death of the *Present Protector*, should be chosen one to succeed him, ( alwayes excepted the *Right Line* from the choice) 'Tis suppos'd, that *Lambert* had an eye upon himself in the reach of That Ar-

A Counsell of one and Twenty.

ticle, and a Particular influence upon the drawing of it, being at That time Popular enough with the Army to hope for any thing. A while after the Establishment of this Traytour, comes forth an *Ordinance, Declaring Treasons*; and now his Highness thinks himself in the *saddle*; especially having *Beaten* the *Dutch* into *One Peace*, and *Treated* the *Swede* into *Another*, which were *Froclaim'd* soon after.

Having run through the *Narrative* of those Considerable *Changes*, and *Confusions*, of *Power*, which interviened betwixt the *Murder* of a most *Gracious Prince*, and the appearing *Settlement* of an *Usurping Tyrant*, wee'll make a little *stand* here, and look *behind* us.

Cromwell's  
Stories.

The two Main Engines that made *Cromwell* Master of the *Army*, were *first*, The *Self-denying Ordinance* by which he worm'd out the *Presbyterians*, and skrew'd in his *own Party*: The *Second*, was The *Vote of March 19. 1646.* for the *Disbanding* of so many *Regiments*, and sending Others for *Ireland*. This *Vote* was privily procur'd by *himself* and *Ireton*: which he foresaw must necessarily enflame the *Army*: and so it did, never to be reconcil'd.

The Founda-  
tion of Cromwell's  
Greatness.

This Breach was the setting up of *Cromwell*: and the Foundation of his succeeding Greatness. It was the Impression of *That Vote* that *Buffed*, and *Purg'd* the *House* in 47. *Forced* it, in 48, and *Dissolv'd* it, in 53. after which he call'd *Another*, that *Dy'd Felo de se*, and *Bequeathed*

*Bequeathed to his Excellency the Government.*

*Had the Devill himself Destroy'd that Faction, the Nation would have Thank'd him for't; so tis no wonder if his Advance was smooth, and Prosperous: but now Hee's Upp, how to maintain his Power, against a Generall Odium, and Interest; how to get himself forc'd to exchange That Temporary Title of Protector, for the more Stable, Legall, and desirable Name of King, without discovering his Insatiate Longing for it: This is a Point of Mastery, and Cunning; and Possibly the Thing that brake his Heart, was his Despaire to Accomplish it.*

The *Faction* has already trod the Round of Government; The *Lords* and *Commons*, outed the *King*; the *Commons*, the *Lords*; the *Multitude*, the *Commons*, (and with the Fate of all Rebellious Courses; *seeking Rest, but finding None*) At last, up goes the Pageantry of a Monarch, *Cromwell*; whose *Temper, Strengths, and Politiques*, shall be the Subject of the ensuing Chapter.

## CAP. VI.

## The Temper, Streights, and Politiques, of Cromwel, during his Protectorship.

THE Character of This glorious Rebell, is no further my purpose, then as it leads to a right Judgement of his Actions, and the Confusion of his Adorers.

Cromwells  
Character.

Of strong Natural Parts, I perswade my self he was, tho' some think otherwise, imputing all his Advantages to Corruption, or Fortune, (which will not be deny'd however to have concurr'd powerfully to his Greatnesse). Nor do I pretend to collect his Abilities from his Words, any more then the World could his Meaning, save that the more entangled his Discourses were, I reckon them the more Judicious, because the fitter for his Businesse. His Interest obliging him to a Reserve, for he durst neither clearly Own his Thoughts, nor Totally Disclaime them; the One way endangering his Design, and the Other, his Person. So that the skill of his Part lay in This; neither to be mistaken by his Friends, nor understood by his Enemies. By This middle Course he gain'd Time, to remove Obstacles, and ripen Occasions; which to improve and follow, was the peculiar Talent of that Monster.

To

To these *enablements* to Mischiefe, he had a *Will* so prostitute, and prone, that to expresse him, I must say, He was made up of *Craft* and *Wickednesse*; and all his *Faculties*, nay all his *Passions*, were *Slaves* to his *Ambition*. In fine, he knew no Other measure of *Good* and *Bad*, but as things stood in *This* or *That* Relation to his *Ends*; which I the less admire, when I consider that he was brought up in a *Presbyterian Schoole*: where *Honour*, *Faith*, and *Conscience*, weigh nothing, further then as they subserve to *Interest*. But enough of *This*.

In the foregoing Chapter we have Plac'd the *Protector* in the *Chaire*, but not the *King* in the *Throne*; the *Power* he has already, but wants the *Title*; and, which is worse, he dares not offer at it, being equally affray'd to *own* his *Longing*, or to *misse* it. In *This* Distraction of Thought, his *Jelousie* joyns with his *Ambition*; Sollicitous on the *One* hand for his *Family*, and on the *Other* for his *Safety*. For his *Family*, in point of *Grandeur*, and for his *Safety* *Thus*.

After his *Death*, according to the *Instrument*, Cromwell Jealous of his Counsell. the *Counsell* is to chuse a *Successour*, and whoever gapes to be the *One*, is suppoed to wish for the *Other*; which probably they had rather *hasten*, then *wait* for: So that *This* Miserable creature being peyned, betwixt the Hazard either of *enlarging* his *Power*, or having it thus *dependent*, and the *disdain* of seeing it *limited*, enters into a restless *suspicion* of his *Counsell*, and no way to be quieted but by *depressing* Those that *Rays'd* him. So much for the *first Difficulty*, a *Second* follows.

His

And of his Army.

His Design had These *Three* Grand *Enemies*, The *Royallists*, The *Presbyterians*, and the *Common-wealths-Men*: the *Last* of which compos'd the *Grosse* of his *Army*; whom he had so *inured* to the *Gust* of *Popularity*, and *Freedom*, and so *enflam'd* against the *Tyranny* of *King-ship*, that the bare *Change* of the word *Common-weath*, to *Kingdom*, had been enough to have cast all into a *Revolt*.

These were the main *Impediments* of his *Majesty* that would be; and now wee'll touch upon the *Shifts* and *Tricks* his *Highness* us'd to *Remove* them.

Oliver erects  
Major-Generals,  
and then  
fools them.

*Cromwell* having squander'd away his *Money*, and taking occasion from the *Salisbury* Rising in 1654. to Squeeze the *Cavaliers* for more; Kills two Birds with one Stone, by Commissioning some of those Persons which he most apprehended in his Counsell, to do his work: whom under the Name of *Major-Generals*, and with a *Power at Liberty*, (doubtless foreseeing how they would abuse it) he places as *Governours* over the Several *Counties*. These he employes to Levy his barbarous *Decimation*, which when they had done, and by a Thousand Insolencies enraged the People, he layes them aside; being now become, of the most *Popular* of the *Party*, the most *Abominated* Creatures of the *Nation*.



The Persecution  
of the *Cavaliers*.

Touching the *Royallists*, no good for him was to be hop'd for *There*, but by *Gaols*, *Exile*, *Selling* them for *Slaves*, *Famishings*, or *Murder*: all which was abundantly provided for, by *Sequestrations*,  
*Pretended*

*Pretended Plots, High-Courts of Justice, Spyes, Decoyes, &c.* Nay (for the very *Dispatch* sake) when they should resolve upon the *Massacre*, (which beyond doubt they meant us) No *Cavalier* must be allow'd so much as the least picce of *Defensive Arms*, by an *Order* of Nov. 24. 1655.

No Person suffer'd to keep in his house as Chaplain or School-Master, any Sequestred or Ejected Minister, Fellow of a Colledge, or School-Master, nor suffer his Children to be taught by such. Nor any Person of that *Quality* must be permitted to Teach a Schoole, either *Publique*, or *Private*; Nor Preach, but in his Own Family, nor Administer the Sacraments, nor Marry, nor use the *Common-Prayer book*, &c.

This was the only Party the Rebels fear'd and Ruin'd; but for the *Presbyterians* they knew they'd never Foyne to help the King; and single they were *inconsiderable*.

The *Common-wealths Men* finally contented themselves with the Name of a *Common-wealth*, under the Exercise of a *Single Person*; so that by This Method of Engaging one Party, conniving at another, and crushing the Third: This Tyrant gave himself the Means and Leisure to fortifie his Interests some other way.

He had already try'd a *Parliament* of his own Call; that met, *Septemb. 3. 1654.* Five or Six Cromwells Velt  
at the House. dayes are spent in dangerous Debates about the *Government*, and the *Authority* by which they are Convened. This, *Oliver* did not like, and sent

them an Appointment to meet him (on the 12.) in the Painted Chamber: where discoursing the Reciprocal ties betwixt Him and his Parliament; The Fundamentals of the Government, as to a Single Person; the Succession of Parliaments; their mutual Interest in the Militia; and Liberty of Conscience; and that These Particulars they were Entrusted to maintain, concluded, that finding a Design among them to overthrow That Settlement, he was necessitated to appoint a Recognition, for every Man to sign, before he could be re-admitted into the House; which Recognition was as follows.

The Recognition.

**I** A. B. do hereby Promise and Engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland: and that according to the Tenure of the Indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in This Present Parliament; I will not propose, or give my consent to alter the Government, as it is sealed in one Single Person and a Parliament.

This was no Conventicle for Cromwell's Turn; so that after Five Months sitting, This Puppet of a Prince did formally dissolve it, in hope the next might use him better.

His Credit though but small at Home, had better luck abroad; The Dutch, the Swede, and then the French,



*French*, entred a *League* with him, and the effect of this *Conjunction* hasten'd his *Ruine*. I must not overslip that *One Condition* with the *French*, was the *Extrusion* of our *Gracious Sovereign*, with his *Adherents*, out of the *French Kings Dominions*.

Flush'd with *Success*, and *Vanity*, nothing lesse serves us now, then the *Spaniards* part of the *West-Indies*. By whose advice, it matters not; but in *Decemb. 1654*. a *Considerable Fleet* sets *Sail* from *Ports-Mouth*, and about mid-*April*, 1655. arrives at *St. Domingo*; Briefly, the *Voyage* was disastrous, and those that Scap'd the *Fate* of *That Attempt*, dispos'd their *After-game* for *Jamaica*. To *Balance* This disgrace, *Blake* made amends at *Tunis*, firing *Nine Frigates* in the *Port Ferino*, and came off fair at last.

Cromwell's design upon *St. Domingo*, Disastrous.

Blake makes amends at *Tunis*.

*Olivers* next design was to intercept the *Plate-Fleet*; and within four *Leagues* of the *Bay* of *Cadiz*, the *English* engaged eight *Galleons*, where of only *One* Scap'd, *Two* were *Taken*, and the Rest *Sunk*, *Burnt*, or *Stranded*: This disappointment to the *Spaniard* was a bitter one, and the *Success* as seasonable to the *English*; Yeelding them both a *Fredigious Booty*, and a *Dreadful Reputation*. But these *Successes* were to *Cromwell*, as a good hand or *Two* to a *Young Gamester*; only *Temptations* to a *Course* will ruine him.

His Success against the *Plate-Fleet* near the *Bay* of *Cadiz*.

While These *Exploits* were driving on, *Abroad*, Others were in the *Forge* at *Home*. Here, to gain *Love*; There, *Awe*, and *Credit*, with as much *Money* toward the *Purchase* as the *Fates* pleas'd. Upon

the *Royallists*, his Flatteries wrought little, as being a Party mov'd neither by *Security*, nor *Profit*, (where the Kings Interest was the Question.) Both which, they freely Sacrificed in their *first Dutifull engagement* with him: and to the last, stood firme, through the whole course of *Oliviers* most furious *Extremities*. But other Instruments there were, of a more tractable, and complying Temper; and These, forsooth, (*Ten, Twenty* perhaps, in a *County*) worshipp'd the *Golden Calfe*, and in the Name of the People of *England*, Addressed, Congratulated, [engaged themselves to stand by and assist him to the Uttermost, in the discharge of the Trust which so remarkably was devolved upon him.] This is the Style of that from *Bucks*.

Addresse.



*Oliviers* Kindred stood his Friends.

To These Appearances of a General good-liking, were added the Conjoynt-endeavours of his *Dependents*, and *Allies*; which being *Numerous* in *Truth*, and *Considerable* by *Employment*, gave no small *Succour* and *Support*, to his *Ambitious Project*, and *Tottering Greatness*. As by the Influence they had upon the *Juncto*, in *Sep. 1656*. more eminently appear'd: consisting of near 100 *Military Officers*, 40 or 50 of his *Allies*, *Domestiques*, and *Particular Creatures*; (I speak the *Least*) beside their *Seconds*: A mixture there was likewise of certain Persons truly *Honourable*, but divers being excluded, and the Rest *over-voted*, Their *Interest* came to *Nothing*.

These were no *strangers* to their *Masters Pleasure*, and what *That* was, may be collected from the *Votes* they *Passed* to please him. The *Main* were These.

1. An Act for Renouncing and Annulling the Title of Charles Stuart to the Three Kingdomes.

2. For the Securing of the Protector's Person, and Preserving the Peace of the Nation.

3. The Humble Petition and Advice.] Wherein was plentifully provided whatever might conduce to his Establishment, the most Material Points being These following. (Only Protector should have been King, if he had pleas'd.)

1. That under the Name and Stile of Lord Protector, &c. He should in his Life time Declare his Successour, and Govern according to the Petition and Advice, in matters therein express'd, and in other things according to the Law of the Land.

The Petition  
and Advice  
To Declare  
his Successour.

2. That he would call Parliaments for the Future, Consisting of Two Houses, &c. --- and Triennial at least.

3. That the Quorum of the Other House be One and Twenty, and the Number not above Seventy, Nominated by his Highness, and Approved by That House.

Others of the  
House.

Privy Counsell.

4. That the Quorum of his Privy Counsell, be Seaven, and the Number not exceeding One and Twenty: and that sitting the Parliament, the Standing Forces of This Common-wealth. be disposed of by the chief Magistrate, with the Consent of Both Houses; and in the Intervals, by advice of his Counsell.

Revenue.

5. That a Constant yearly Revenue of Thirteen-Hundred-Thousand Pounds be forthwith Settled, and no Part thereof to be Rays'd by a Land-Tax: a Million of This Mony, for the Navy and Army; the Rest, for the Support of the Government: Other Temporary Supplies being left to the Judgement of the House of Commons.

Cavaliers  
incapable of  
Office.

6. That all That ever serv'd the King Loyally, and Constantly, be made Incapable for ever of any Office or Place of Trust in any of the Three Nations: The Rest is Formality.

To these Propositions, his Highness *A M E N*, is not to be doubted, and in Form, May 25. 1657.


**The LORD PROTECTOR doth  
CONSENT.**

Here's

Here's in the *First*, his *Family* Secur'd. In the *Second*, his *Interest* ; ( *One House* consisting of his own *Creatures* ). In the *Fourth*, the *Standing-Army* is his own ; ( that is, in the *Intervals* of *Parliaments*, which he can *Dissolve* at *Pleasure* ). In the *Fifth*, a *Revenue* proposed ; and *Lastly*, his *Enemies* cast at his *Feet*.

On the Day following (*June 26.*) was presented an *Additional* and *Explanatory Petition* and *Advice* : Desiring,

*That Forty and One Commissioners be appointed by Act of Parliament, who, or any Five of them, shall be Authorized to examine the Capacities of Members to be chosen into Future Parliaments, and every unqualify'd Member to forfeit a Thousand Pounds, and suffer Imprisonment till he Pay it..]*

*The Forms of Several Oathes are likewise offered; to be taken by the Protector, his Counsell, and Members of Parliament; and, his Highness is further desired to Issue forth his Summons in due form of Law to such as he should think fit to Call to his Other House.*   
To all which.--

**The LORD PROTECTOR doth  
CONSENT.**

Diverſa.

Diverse Bills his *Highness* pass'd, that his *People* scarce Thank'd him for; *Many-Bills* very many, and so the Thing was adjourn'd till the *Twentieth* of *Jan.* next.

But we must not forget the Solemn *Investiture* of the *Protector*, by *Authority* of *Parliament*, (forsooth) and yet we must not make the *Bauble Proud* neither, by saying too Much on't.

Cromwell Installed Protector.

The *Foolery* was perform'd in *Westminster Hall*, where his *Highness* was Presented with a *Coat*: to wit, a *Robe* of *Purple Velvet*, Lin'd with *Ermins*: A *Bible*, *Guilt*, and *Blessed*: A *Sword*: and *Lastly*, a *Scepter* of *Massive Gold*. When he was *Girt*, and *Vested*, he lift up his eyes to *Heaven*, and took an *Oath*, (not the first he had broken by many a Thousand) which being dispatch'd, Mr. *Manton* consecrated the *Independent Foppery* with a *Presbyterian Blessing*; after which his *Highness* being Publish'd, and Proclaim'd, the *Comedy* concluded.



But *Comedy* and Mr. *Manton* will Scarce agree in the same *Period*: and why? Let us *Expostulate*. Does not a *Counterfeit*, or a *Mimique* better become a *Stage*, then a *Pulpit*? or is it not as Lawfull to see *Honest Lacy* play a finiveling *Schismaticque*, as a *Perfidious*, bloody *Traytour* to sustain the Person of a *Gracious Prince*? Yet *Here* his *Holyness* Acts his *Part* himself; (or in the *Gibbrish* of the *Brethren*) performs the *Duty* of the *Day*: Pronun-  
cing

cing a *Blessing* upon the *horrid*, and *Ridiculous Spectacle*.

Say Mr. *Manton*: did not you know that *Cromwell* was an *Impressour*; and that the *Purple Robe* he ware, belong'd not to his *Shoulders*? How as a *Minister of the Gospell* then, could you *Officiate* to such a *piece of Pageantry*? It minds me of *Mazarins Kinsman*, that upon a *Good-Friday* in *Derision* *Crucified a Frog*.

You knew moreover, that he was a *Murderer*, and an *Usurper*, and that the *Gawdy Bible* then before him, was but to him the *Book* he *Conjur'd* by. How as a *Christian* could you own the *Augury*? You'd scarce have ventur'd to *Baptize* the *Infant* of an *Unbeliever*, that were so *Prodigal* of your *Charity* toward This *Monster*.

Further; You knew *Whose* *Bloud* he had *Spilt*, *Whose* *Rights* he *Usurp'd*; and that the *Murther'd Father*, and his *injur'd Successour*, were Both *YOUR SOVEREIGNS*: The *Ceremonial Sword* and *Scepter* likewise You knew the *meaning* of. How as a *Subject* then could you *submit* to *Countenance* so *Undutiful an Undertaking*?

Lastly; You knew that the *Design* was (in *Truth* utterly *Atheistique*, but in *shew*) *Independent*. How as a *Presbyterian* could you *Agree* to't?

For All This now may you *Thank* your self Sir, 'Tis *True*, you did *Exceeding well*, on the late *Fast*, to reckon *Drunkenness*, and *Prophaneness* among Those *Crying Sins* that draw *God's Judgements* upon a *People*, and *Earnestly* to presse a *Reformation*. Nay more, I do here publicly confess

my self not absolutely Free from those Distempers, which ( not to cast either upon *Good-Nature* or *Complexion* ) I am both *Sorry* for, and *Asham'd* of.

But, I beseech you, how come *Plays* into the *Rank* of these *Provoking Sins* ? Or, what does *Histrionmastix* in the *Pulpit* ? [ *The Theaters* ( it seems ) are so *Throng'd with Coaches*, your *Greatness* can scarce pass the *Streets* : *Those Temples of Satan*, &c. ] Good Sir ! and what would you now have the world believe of Those that *Frequent* Them ? But your pleasure is known. Is not This, *Lashing* of a *Party*, under the disguise of *taxing a Vice* ? or Certainly, 'tis a *Strange Conscience*, that adores *Caesare* in a *State*, and *Scruples* him upon a *Stage*.

Would not a *Whip* on the *Other* hand do well sometimes ?

I would go *Five Miles barefoot* to hear you Preach, that the *first War* in 1642. *Rays'd* by the *LORDS*, and *COMMONS* was a *REBELLION*. Let me Entreat you, if you *Think* so, *Say* so ; and so *adieu*.

Oliver durst  
not take upon  
him the Title  
of King.

For fear of the  
Sectaries.

It must not be supposed that the first Tender of the *Petition* and *Advice* under the *Regall* Stile, was without *Cromwells* Privity, and Liking ; and beyond doubt, the *Title* was a *Bait* he *Lick'd his Lips* at : but the *Old Fox* durst not *Bite* ; and he had Reason to be shy, finding how great a *Flame* the first *Bruit* of the Proposition had *Rays'd* among the *Sectaries* : That very *Ninth* of *April*, when a *Committee* was appointed, to treat his Highness *Scruples* :



*Scruples* into a *Satisfaction*, being design'd for a *Tumultuary Attempt* upon his *Government*; and *divers* of the *Plotters apprehend*!

'Twas *This*, that put the Gentleman to his *Hums* His Reserve. and *Haws*; that makes him *Sick to day*, *Late to morrow*, *Busy the next*; and when he speaks, *Chew false*, or utter *Oracles*: all these *put-offs*, tending And the Reasons of it. only to gain *Time*, to find how the *Tide serves*, and Taste how the *Proposall Relishes*. At Last, the *Crafty Sir*, fearing the distance too wide for a *single Step*, resolves rather to make *Two* on't; and to content himself at present to be *Install'd Protector*, with such *Additional Powers* as were then offer'd leaving the *Complement* of his *Regality* to the *next meeting*.

During the *Prorogation*, *Cromwell* patch'd up Olivers Other House. his *Other House*, who took their seats (the *Term* of the *Adjournment* being expir'd) in the *Lords House*. Such *Peers* they were, as in good *Truth* the *Commons* were not only *asham'd* of, but gall'd to see the *Affront* they had done *Themselves*, by their own *Follies* in permitting them. Enraged the Commons. Some few there were of *Quality*, and *Moderation*, Whose *Names* were only mix'd to *Grace* the *Rabble*.

And now forsooth the *Mushrome-Fops* begin to The new Peers. talk of *Dignities* and *Privileges*. *Prodigious Impudence* and *Folly*! — Two of These *Fellows*, *Pride*, and *Berkstead* quarrell'd upon the *Bench* at *Hicks his Hall*, about the meaning of [ *the PREAMBLE that went AFTER.* ]

The Commons  
pick a Quirell  
with the Other  
House.

The Commons (though a little late) resenteth the Indignity of *Truckling* under such Cattell, and not enduring an *Upper-House* so like a *Bear-Garden*, they presently took in their formerly Secluded Fellowes, and fell to work upon the *Authority* of That *New Creation*, not sparing His that *Plac'd* them there. This course would soon have bred ill blood; and *Cromwell*, after 15 Dayes tryall of their Humour, did Prudently *Dissolve* them.

From that Degree of *Confidence*, to *Fall* beyond *Resourse*, and from That point of *Power*, to become *Ridiculous*; did but demonstrate to him the *Vanity* of his *Ambitious Hopes*, and that he aym'd at Things *Impossible*.

Olivers heart-  
breaking cross.

Of all the Cross-Encounters of his life, This sank the Deepest, and the Impression of That Anguish, went with him to his Grave; as may be fairly Gather'd from the wild disproportion of his following Actions: which, well consider'd, will appear rather the Products of *Revenge*, *Rage*, and *Despair*, then the *form'd*, *Regular Politiques* of his *wonted Reason*.

He Fools the  
City of London.

Yet that he might not seem to abandon the pursuit, and utterly despond; some Five weeks after the breaking up of the late Assembly, The *Mayor* of *London* and his *Brethren* were summon'd to *White Hall*, and there (March 2. 1658.) the *Citts* are told a Formal Tale of the King of *Scots*; 8000 *Men in Readiness*, and 22 *Vessels* to *Transport* them. A *General Plot*, The *City* to be *fired*, and twenty Terrible Things, to start and Settle a New *Militia*, which in some *Six weeks* time was perfected.

And

And Now from all Parts are to be procur'd  
 Addressees: which are no other then *Leagues Of-*  
*ensive*, and *Defensive* Betwixt the *Faction*, and the  
*Usurper*.

Sweet *London* leads the way; Then, *Michell's*, Address: *Ashfields*, *Cobbetts* Regiments: The *Officers* of the  
*English Army*; and the *Commission-Officers* in *Flan-*  
*ders*. All these in *March*.

In *April*; the *Officers* of *Biscoes* Regiment: and  
 the *Commission Officers* of the *Militia* in *Suffolk*,  
*Leicester*, *Sussex*, and my *Country-men* of *Norwich*.  
 After *These*, follow the *Souldiery* of *South-Wales*,  
 and *Daniels* Regiment. The *Well-affected* of *No-*  
*tingham*, &c.

*These Numerous* and *Pretending Applications*,  
 were but *False Glosses* upon his *Power*, and *Crom-*  
*well* was too *wise* to think them *Other*: Gain'd by  
*Contrivement*, *Force*, or at least, *Importunity*. Hark  
 a *Score* pitiful wretches call themselves the *People*  
 of such or such a *County*, and here's the *Total* of the  
*Reasoning*. 'Tis *Rumour'd* that his *Daughter*  
*Cleypoole*, in the *Agonies* of her *Death-Sickness* rang  
 him a *Peal* that troubled him. Whether 'twere so,  
 or no, 'tis past *Dispute*, his *Grand Distress* was for  
 the *Loss* of *That* which while he hop'd to gain,  
 made the most *horrid* of his *helpful Sins*, seem *Sola-*  
*ces* and *Pleasures*.

While by the *Artifice* of *These Addressees*, his  
 broken *Interest* is pieced as *Fair* as well it may,  
 his *Care* is *Divided* between the *engaging* of *One*

Barbarous  
Cruelties.

Party, and the *Destroying* of Another. And under the Masque of a *pressing* and *Pious Necessity*, he breaks out into such *Enormous Cruelties*, such *Wanton*, and *Conceited Butcheries*, that, had not his *Brain* been *Cracks*, as well as his *Conscience* *Sear'd*, he would not have gone so *Phantastical* a way to the *Dewill*. Some of the *Martyrs Hearts* were *quick* and *Springing in the Fire*, (as I had it from several *Ey-Witnesses*). *Ashton* did but *desire* to be *Beheaded*, and it was seemingly *Granted*, but the *Order* kept till 'twas too late, and Then tendered with a *Jaere*.

*London* was made the *Altar* for These *Burnt-Offrings*: God grant That City be not at last purg'd by Fire, (I mean, before the *General Conflagration*) for Those *Polluting Flames*. The *Crime* was *Loyalty*, and made out against them, more by the doubling *Artifice* of *Mercenary Tongues*, than any *Pregnancy* of *Proofes*.

What could This *Furious* and *Inhumane Rigour* avail That miserable *Politician*, further then as it *Gratifi'd* his *Malice*, and *Revenge*, for his *Lost Hopes*, and *Fortunes*! Without a *Parliament*, or somewhat like one, he *Perishes* for want of *Money*; and an *Assembly* to his mind *through-out*, he utterly despayres of: so that no *Remedy* remains, but by extremities of *Violence* and *Bloud* to do his *Business*. And to That end, he faintly labours the *new Modelling* of his *Army*, a way, which he had found by *Long Experience*, made *Enemies*, as well as *Friends*: Those certain, and *Implacable*; These, prone to *change* their *Inter-est*,

rest, and without *Money*, *True to None*. In fine, his Fate was *Irresistible*, and his Tormented Soul *Inconsovable*. He *Sinks*, *Sickens*, and *Dies*: Upon the Day of his grand *Anniversary*, for *Dunbar*, and *Worcester*, (Sept. 3.) Cromwells Death.

The Night before his Death, arose a *Tempest*, that seem'd to signify the Prince of the Ayre had some great work in hand: and 'tis Remarkable, that during his *Usurpation*, scarce any Eminent *Action* pass'd without a *furious Storm*. ☞

I have drawn This Chapter to a length beyond my intention, and should be too too Tedious to run through all his *Wiles*, which were No other then an *Habitual* Craft, diffused throughout the entire Course of his Tyranny. But certain General rules he impos'd upon himself, which must not be omitted.

One was, to Buy *Intelligence* at any Rate, by *Olivers* Ma-  
That means making every Plot bear it's own *ximes*.  
Charges.

2. Never to Engage *Two Parties* at once; but to *Flatter*, and *Formalize* with the *One*, till he *Ruin'd* the *Other*: Which was the Reason that he durst never make the *Presbyterians* *Desperate*, for fear of Necessitating them to side with the *King*.

3. To extirpate the *Royalists* by all possible means, as *Poverty*, *Bandage*, *Executions*, *Transplantations*; and a Device he had to dispose of several Levies, out of That Party, Some to serve the  
the

the *Spaniard*, Others the *French*, that they might be sure to meet in *Opposition*, and cut One the Others Throats.

4. He ever made his *Army* his own Particular *Care*.

5. To keep the Nation in a perpetual *Hatred*, and *Jealousie* of the *Kings Party*; which he promoted either by *forging* of *Plots*, or *Procuring* Them.

So much for *Olivers Temper*, *Streights*, and *Politiques*.

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## C A P. VII.

*A short Account from the Death of the Tyrant Oliver; to the Return of Charles the Second, (whom God Preserve from his Fathers Enemies.)*

THE *Heart* of the *Cause* was broken long since, and now the *Soul* of it is gone; though the *Protectorate* be formally devolv'd to *Richard*, as the *Declar'd Successor* to his *Father*. Whether *Declar'd*, or *not*, was (I remember) at That time a *Question*. But whether Thus or So, it Matters not. *Oliver's Dead*, his *Son* *Proclaym'd*, and at night *Bon-fires*, with all the *Clamor*, *Bustle*, and  
Confusion

Confusion that commonly attends those Vulgar Jollities. The Souldiours took the *Alarm*, and in my hearing threatned divers for daring to express their Joy so unseasonably : but they came off with telling them that they were glad they had got a *New Protector*, not that they had lost the *Old*. In Truth, the *New Protector* was look'd upon as a Person more *Inclinable* to do *Good*, than *Capable* to do *Mischief*, and the *Exchange* welcome, to all that Lov'd his Majesty.

By the *Court-Interest* (as they call'd it,) *Addresses* thick and threefold were brought in, to *Condole*, and *Gratulate*, but Those *Complements* had no *Sap* in them : The *Dutch*, the *Swede*, and the *French*, sent their *Embassadors* on the same Errand. And now the *Funerals* come on ; A *Solemn*, and *Expensive Pageantry* ; yet, in my Conscience, the *Chief-Mourners* were his *Highness Drapers*.

These Ceremonies over, to keep the Wheel in Motion, a Supply was Resolv'd upon for the King of *Swede*, and little further of Moment, before *Jan. 27*. When (in the Language of the Time) met *Richards Parliament*. The *First*, and *Last* of his *Reign*.

It cost These people some time to agree the Powers of the *Chief-Magistrate*, and the *New* *Peerage*, which came to this result, that *Richard* should be *Recognized* ; but with *Limitations*, consistent with the *Rights* of *Parliament*, and *People* : and that for quiet sake [they would transact with the Persons then sitting in the *Other House*, as an *House of Parliament* during that Session.]

*Richard Recognized upon condition.*

The *House* proceeded by Degrees to make dangerous Inspections into the *Militia*, the *Revenue*; to look into the Exorbitances of *Major Generals*, to threaten the *Excise*; and finally, by all Popular pretences, to engage the Multitude; Effectually against both *Protector* and *Army*, enduring the Government neither of the *One*, nor of the *Other*.

Whereupon, the *Officers* set up a Counsel at *Wallingford-House*, the *Protector* advises at *Whitehall*, and *April 6. 1659.* comes a Paper to *Richard* from the *Generall Counsell of Officers*, Entitled, *A Representation and Petition, &c.* importing, [*The great danger the Good Old Cause is in, from Enemies of all sorts, the Poverty of the Souldjery; the Persecution of Tender consciences, &c. Which Particulars they Petition his Highness to represent to the Parliament, With their Desir: of Speedy Supply, and Certainty of Pay for the future: Declaring likewise their Resolutions with their Lives and Fortunes to stand by, and assist his Highness and Parliament, in the plucking the Wicked out of their places wheresoever they may be discovered, &c.*]

The Paper boded a *Purge*, at least. Sign'd it was by 230 *Officers*, presented by *Fleetwood*, Publish'd throughout the *Army*, and followed soon after with a *Day of Humiliation*: (the never-failing Sign of Mischief at hand.)

Each of the  
Three Parties  
Enemy to the  
Oth. & Two.

In this Juncture, *Each* of the *Three Parties* was *Enemy* to the *Other Two*, saying where *Either Two* were *united* to Maintain themselves against the *Third*: and All *Three* of Them *Enemies* to the *Good* of the *Nation*.

The



The House being Biass'd for a Common-wealth, and not yet enabled to go Through with it, Dreaded the Army on the one hand, and Hated the Single-Person on the Other.

Richard, finding his Power limited by the Members, and Envy'd by the Officers, willing to please Both, and Resolv'd to Hazzard nothing, becomes a Common Property to the House and Army; a Friend to Both by Turns; Theirs to day, T'others to Morrow, and in all Tryals Meekly submitting to the Dispensation.

The Army on the other side had their Protector's Measure to a Hair; and behind him they Stalk'd to Ruffle That Faction in the House, that was now grown so Bold with the Military Interest: and it behov'd them to be quick, with (as the Case stood Then) so Popular an Enemy.

The Army  
Ruffles the  
House.

The Members kept their Ground, and April 18. pass'd These following Votes.

First, That, during the sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Counsell, or meeting of the Officers of the Army without Direction, Leave, and Authority of his Highness the Lord Protector, and Both Houses of Parliament.

The House  
Opposes the  
Army.

Secondly. That no Person shall Have and Continue any Command, or Trust in any of the Armies, or Navies of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, who shall refuse to Subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament, of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedom in their Debates and Counsels.

Upon These Peremptory Votes, Richard Faces about, joyning his small Authority, to forbid their Meetings; and great Assurances are Enterchang'd, to stand the Shock of any Opposition.

Richard dissolves his Parliament.

Two or three dayes they stood upon their Guards, continuing in that snarling Posture, till April 21. when Richard at the suit (or rather menace) of Disborough and his Fellows, signes a Commission to Dissolve his Parliament; which to prevent, the Members Adjourn for Three dayes; and to avoid the shame of falling by an Enemy, the Cat does kill themselves. For at the Three dayes end, they finde the Dore shut and a Guard upon the Passage, to tell them, *They must Sit no more; Their Dissolution being also Published by Proclamation.*

And is laid aside himself.

His Highness steps aside next; and now the Army undertakes the Government. They Medd, Cast about, Contrive, and, after some Ten Dayes fooling with the Politiques, they found it was much a harder matter to Compose a Government, than to Disorder it, and at This Plunge, besought the Lord [after their Wandring and Back sliding, to shew them where they turned out of the Way, and where the Good Spirit left the Good Old Cause, that through Mercy they might Return and give the Lord the Glory.

The Army acknowledge their backslidings.

And invite the old Parliament to sit again.

At last, they call to mind, that the Long Parliament sitting from 1648. to 1653. were eminent Assertours of that Cause, and had a Speciall Presence of God with them: Wherefore they Earnestly desire Those Members to Return to the Exercise, of their Trust, &c. ---]

noqu

2 11

This

This is the Tenor of that Canting Declaration, which the *Army-Officers* presented *Lentball* (*the Good-Old-Speaker*) with, at the *Rolls*, May 6. in the Evening; where a Resolve was taken by several of the Members, to meet next morning in the *Painted Chamber*, and There to advise about their *Sitting*.

They met accordingly, and made a shift, by *Ra-* The Rump,  
king of *Goals*, to get together a *Quorum*, and so they sneak'd into the House of Commons, and There Declar'd for a *Common-wealth*, passing a Vote expressly against the Admission of the Members, See'd in 1648.

This Device was *far-fetch'd*, and not *long-liv'd*, but These were Old Stagers, and no ill Menagers of their Time.

To make short; they Erect a Counsel of State, *Place*, and *Displace*; mould their *Faction*; settle the Godly, appoint their Committees, and so soon as ever they are Warm in their *Gears*, begin, where they left in 1653; *Fleeing the Nation*, and *Fleying the Cavaliers*, as briskly, as if 'twere but the *Good-Morrow* to a *Six-Years Nap*.

But the sad Wretches were filthily mistaken; to think Themselves brought in again to do their own Business; for the Army makes bold to Cut them out their work in a *Petition*, of May 12. containing 15 Proposals, desiring

First a *Free-state*.] 2. *Regulation of Law and Courts*.] 3. *An Act of Oblivion*, since April, 1653.] 4. *All Lawes, &c.* since 1653. to stand

The Armies  
Petition.

good untill particularly Repeal'd.] 5. *Publique Debts since 1653. to be Paid.*] 6. *Liberty of Worship, &c. not extending to Popery or Prelacy.*] 7. *A Preaching Ministry.*] 8. *The Reformation of Schools, and Universities.*] 9. *The Exclusion of Cavaliers, and loose Persons from Places of Power, or Trust.*] 10. *The Employment of the Godly in such Places.*] 11. *To provide for a Succession of the Legislative Authority.*] 12. *That Charles Fleetwood be Commander in Chief at Land.*] 13. *That the Legislative Power be in a Representative of the People; and of a Select Senate, Coordinate in Power.*] 14. *That the Executive-Power, be in a Counsell of State.*] 15. *That the Debts of his Late Highness, and his Father, contracted since Decemb. 15. 1653. may be satisfi'd, and Twenty Thousand Pounds per Annum settled upon him, half for Life, and half to him and his Heirs for ever.*

The Principal point was *Fleetwoods* Command, which they agreed to; only reserving the *Supreme Power to Themselves*, and constituting the *Speaker, Generalissimo; in the Name of the Parliament:* which waryness shewed that they understood one-another.

For a while, the *Funko* treated the Army like *Apes*, with a *Bit and a Knock*, *Flattering some and Removing others*, as they saw expedient: Particularly the Two Sonnes of the Late Usurper, were fairly laid aside, Submitting and Resigning in Excellent Form, and without making two words on't.

*The High and Mighty* did not, all this time, forget, that the Key of the Work, was *Money*; nor in Truth did they well consider, that they were call'd back by the *Army* only to *Raise* it. But *On* they went through *Thick and Thin*, and such Ignoble, sordid Courses they took to *Levy* it, that, in Effect, to Stop the *Souldiers* Mouths, they brake their own Necks; the Nation not enduring any Longer that such a pilfering Covy of *Pick-Pockets* should call themselves a *Parliament*.

This Universal *Hatred*, and *Disdain* of Their Proceedings, provok'd a General Seizure of Men, Horse, and Arms: and in Effect, the Plot was General; but what by *Treachery*; *Delays*; *Babbling*; *Disappointments*; and *Scruples* of taking in the Royal Party, (by those that never meant His Majesty, or his Friends should be the better for't) the whole was *Dash'd*.

I well remember one Particular, in That Transaction, that pass'd my Understanding, and Mistrust smelt of Treason. It was extremely labour'd, that the King might be perswaded to come Over; and That too, before any Port was Secured, or Men Embod'd, on the bare hopes of the Design, to engage his Sacred Person.

After the *Cheshire-Rout*, *Lambert* Retires to his House, at *Crawley*, and there ('tis thought) contrives the Ruine of the *Ramp*. Which unforeseeing Creature. (dreaming of nothing Less) flies higher now The Fashion then ever, Imposing upon the House, and the *Millions* high.

*lissa*, an Oath of *Abjuration*, not only Renouncing

t. a

the Title of *Charles Stuart*, but the whole *Line* of the *Late King James*. And then besides *Excise*, *Customs*, *Forfeitures*, and *Confiscations*, out comes an *Assessment* of 100000 l. per *Mensem*. They dis-incorporate the *City of Chester*, &c.

The Rump and  
the Army  
'Clath.

In the *Carrier* of their head-strong, and unbridled *Fury*, the first *Check* they receiv'd, was from a *Petition* and *Proposals* then on foot in *Lamberts Army*. Whereupon they Order *Ashfield*, *Cobbes*, and *Duckenfield*, (Three of the Principal *Abettours* of it) to bring in the *Original Paper*, which was accordingly done, and Caus'd this *Vote*,

*That to have any more General Officers in the Army, than are already settled by Parliament, is needless, chargeable and dangerous to the Common-wealth.*

Upon this *Vote*, the *Officers* appear'd to acquiesce; but *Octob.* the 5. *Matters* were re-enforced, *Disborough* presenting the *House* with a *Representation*, and *Petition*, from the *General Counsell* of the *Army*. For which, from the *Teeth* outwards, the *Officers* had *Thanks*.

The *Conventicle* and the *Army* began now to speak *English*, and the *Members* seeing their *Dissolution* at hand, however cast This *Block* in the *Armies* way; *Enacting*,

*That it should be adjudg'd High-Treason for any Person or Persons after the Eleventh of Octob. 1659. to Raise Monies without the Peoples Consent in Parliament.*

This being passed; They Uncommission'd Nine of the *Army-Officers*, to wit, *Lambert*, *Disborough*,  
Berry,

Berry, Kelsey, Ashfield, Cobbett, Creed, Packer, and Barrow. They voyded Fleetwoods Commission also, Investing the Command of the Army in Seven Persons, himself being one, and any Three to be a Quorum.

Hereupon the House adjourns, and Hazelrigg, Morly and Walton (Three of the Seaven) repair to the Speakers Chamber, forthwith dispatching Orders to Draw their Troupes together. The Army-Party do the like, and March to the Palace-Yard at Westminster, (their Appointed Rendezvous) where The Two Parties for That Night and part of the next day made Faces at One-another; and finally, the Souldiery dismiss'd the Senate.

The Rump  
thrown out.

Now was the Government once again in the Army; who after Thirteen dayes deliberation how to bestow it, Octob. 26. Disposed of it to a Committee of Safety, consisting of 23 Persons: Empower'd at Large; to advise upon Occasion with the Principal Officers of the Army; and within Six-weeks time, to bring in a Form of Government. Their Reign was short, and Troublesome; as 'tis reported, Feak told Sir Harry Vane upon his Unction, that his was like to be. They make Fleetwood their Commander in Chiefe, and constitute a New Militia.

The Army settles a Committee of Safety.

Scarce were these Worthies warm in their Seats, but the News comes that Scotland's in Disorder, and Barwick in a wrong hand. Whereupon Lambert marches Northward; soon after which, comes on a Treaty, that gave General Monk (now Duke of Albemarle)

General M.  
Secures Scot-  
land.

*Albemarle*) leisure to purge his Army, and to put Scotland in a Posture of Security. By These Delays, and want of Monys, *Lambert's* Army Moulders away; and briefly London is left so Thinn, that Sir *Harry Vane's* Privy List of *Congregationals* was the danger they most Apprehended.

The first step toward their Deliverance, was a *Petition desiring the Assistance of the Common-Counsell for the Procurement of a Free-Parliament*: Promoted by the Honest-Part of the City, and Cross'd by some Factious Magistrates of the *Wallingford Leaven*.

*Hewson's* In-  
fluence toward  
the City.

This Baffle did but more Incense the Petitioners, and upon *Monday, Decemb. 5.* Horse and Foot were Commanded into the City to hinder the prosecution of it. Where, by surprize, *Hewson* the *Cobler* knocks Two or Three Citizens on the head, barbarously wounding and Affronting Others, till at last, Multitudes being drawn together, and ready to fall in among them (where not a *Red-Cote* could have escap'd without a Miracle) the Quarrel, forsooth, was taken up by some of the *Formalities*, and then excus'd, to the *Committee of Safety*, as if the fault had been the Cities. The Army had at This time their Guards in *Pauls*, and *Gresham-College*.

*Hazelrigg* sei-  
zes *Portsmouth*.

During These Broyles, *Hazelrigg*, *Morley*, and *Walton*, possess themselves of *Portsmouth*, and the Forces employ'd to reduce it, joyn with them. The Fleet drives the same Interest likewise: only the *Troupes* in London were at a stand, and fair



fair for any Purchaser, but the Opportunity was slipp'd.

Upon the 26. of Decemb. the Rump sits once again, and Empowers *Seaven Commissioners*, or any *Three* of them, to *Command* the *Army*; Here, the Secluded Members of 1648. put in for their Right of Sitting; whereupon a Vote is pass'd for taking the Case of Absent Members into Consideration, upon the fifth of January next; and upon the Day appointed, they Resolve,

The Rump sits again.

*That the Members Discharg'd from Voting, or Sitting in 1648. and 49. do stand duly Discharg'd by Judgement of Parliament, and that Writs do Issue forth for New in their Places.*

And now They think their Game Cocksure, having already Voted the Disbanding of *Lambert's Army*; Setled their Counsell of *One-and-Thirty*; and Offer'd Grace to the Revolted Officers, (*Lambert* himself, by Name) that would lay down before the Ninth of January; whereupon, *Lambert's Forces* disperse, He himself submits, and the General receives an Invitation to London.

Lambert and his Party submit.

In Conclusion, after Many Indignities cast upon the Honest Part of the Nation, for desiring a Free-Parliament, by That wretched Conventicle, that intended only to Perpetuate it self; The General arrives at London, Feb. 3. and upon the 7. comes out the 100000 *l.* Tax, which produced a Common-Counsell the day following to advise upon it; where it was Resolv'd, To adhere to a former Vote of the Court in the Negative. This Refusall puzzled

The City refuse to Levy Monies.

The Rump of-  
fended with  
the City.

the Counsell of State, who without being Masters of the *City*, and of *Money*, were able to do little ; so that they forthwith Order'd the Reducing of the *City*, by *Emprisoning half a Score of their Citizens* ; and, upon another Denyall, to take away their *Posts*, and *Chains*, and destroy their *Gates and Portcullisses* ; which was accordingly Executed, but with such Regret, that thereupon they lodg'd the Government of the Army in Five Commissioners, (the *General* being *One*) with Evident Design to wipe him of his Employment. But Their Ingratitude wrought little with him, whose Actions were only steer'd by the Compass of Loyalty and Prudence. So that having humour'd the People at *Westminster*, till they had made themselves sufficiently Odious, and abundantly try'd the Affections of the *City* to his Design in hand : Upon the 11 of *Feb.* he gave the *House* to understand the Necessary of their timely Dissolution, in order to the right of Successive Parliaments ; the very hopes of which Release gave the People a Joy, to the Degree of Madness.

The Secluded  
Members re-  
admitted.

Upon the 21. were re-admitted the Secluded Members of 1648. by whom were Writs Issued out for a Representative, to meet upon the 25. of *April* 1660. and *March* 16. 1659: they formally Dissolve themselves, Committing the Government in that *Interval*, to a Counsell of State. Upon the day Appointed, the Convention meets, but not altogether so Leaven'd as by the *Qualifications* was intended ; *Excluding Father and Son of such as had serv'd the King, from the Election*. In fine, the Major Part of that Assembly, according to their Duty,

Duty, gave the King his own again, without Those shackles, and conditions which the *Qualifiers* would have impos'd upon his Majesty: Upon whose *Legal* and *Imperial freedom*, depends the *safety* and *well-being* of his *People*.

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## CAP. VIII.

*The Usurper Oliver was principally distress'd by the Warr with Spain, and his Standing Army.*

WE have now brought *Rebellion* from the *Cradle* to the *Grave*; we have seen it *Triumphant*, and now we see it in the *Dust*, subjected at the Feet of our Most Gracious Sovereign, to account for the Bloud of his Royal Father. Be it our Business next to enquire, *What* hinder'd *Oliver* from Establishing himself? Upon what *Reason of State*, *Cause*, *Error*, or *Necessity*, That prosperous *Usurper* sayl'd.

But *some* will not allow he *fail'd*; as if the sole *Fatality* of the *Cause* was his *Decease*; and the *Design* only miscarried through the ill *menage* of a *Weak Successor*. For granted; by good order, it might have been *Candled up*, and kept *above ground* a little longer: but still it seems to Me, that before *Oliver Dy'd*, the *Cause* was *Bed-rid*, and *Hectique* past Recovery.

*Opinion is Free ; Any Mans as Mine, and Mine as Any Mans : so that submitting my Reasons to the Wise, and Recommending my Weakness to the Charitable, I Proceed.*

Cromwell's Rise to the Sovereignty.

Cromwell did wisely to take his *Rise* to the *Sovereignty* upon the *Necks* of those *Usurpers* whom he cast out in 1653. For in the same *Action*, he *Oblig'd* the *People*, *Master'd* his *Enemies* ; and *Fill'd* his *Pockets*. Yet were not Those Means that *advanc'd* the *Tyrant*, sufficient to *Establisb* him.

What hindered his Establishment.

One *Obstacle* was the *Inconsistence* of his *Doctrine* with his *Design* : for the same *Arguments* that *Rays'd* him, *Ruin'd* him. The *People* were instructed to *Destroy* *Kings*, not to set them *up* : and beside, he that had so many *Sharers* in the *Hazards* of the *Rebellion*, could not fail of some *Competitors* for the *Benefit* of it.

He was Generally Hated.

Further, he had no considerable *Party* *sure* to his *Interest* ; and all, but his *Meer Creatures* and *Allies*, were utter *Enemies* to it. The *City* *Hated* him for their *Loss* of *Trade* ; the *Countrey*, for their *Taxes* ; the *Royalists*, for his *Rebellion*, and *Cruelty* ; the *Presbyterians*, for his *Breach* of *Covenant*, ( That is, for not destroying the *King* after *Their Way* ) ; The *Levellers*, for his *Ambition* ; and, in fine, all the hope he had, was to *New-Modell* an *Army* to his purpose ; that say'd him too at last, for want of *Money*, and *Credit* to maintain it. Which *Want* was chiefly hasten'd, and procur'd, by his precipitate *Breach* with *Spain*, together with the *Necessity* of keeping up a *Standing Army*.

The

The *Former* of These was doubtless his *Mistake* ; Th. Warr with Spain was an Oversight.  
 ( or rather a *Temerity* scarce advised upon. ) For  
 having brought the *Hollander* to his *Knees*, ( the  
 only *Stranger* he had then to fear ) and after That,  
*shak'd hands* with him ; his next *Course* should  
 have been by *Thrift* and *Popularity* to Ingratiate  
 himself at *Home*, and not by a *Rambling*, *Needlesse*,  
 and *Expensive* Warr, to squander away the *life-*  
*blood* of the Nation, and in That Indigent Extre-  
 mity of the State, to make *Ducks and Drakes* with  
 the *Publique* Treasure. Nor was the *Consequence*  
 lesse *Fatal* to him, than was the *Enterprize* ( to a  
 common Eye ) *Imprudent* : the *hopes* of carrying  
 his Design, in no wise Countervailing the *risque*  
 he ran of losing all he had *Got* ; in case he mis-  
 sed it.

I might Instance in a Thousand wayes of *Pro-*  
*fusion*, and *Oppression* Common to all *Usurpers*,  
 both *Practised* by Him, and *exposing* him to great  
*Necessities*, but I shall rather bestow the rest I have to  
 say, upon the *Fatality* of that *Tyrant's Condition* ; A Standing Army dan- gerous.  
 Which forc'd him to make use of for his *Safety*,  
 the greatest of all Dangers, to wit, *A Standing*  
*Army*.

For Order sake, Wee'll first Consider, Upon  
 what *Pretense*, and to what end 'twas *Rais'd*.

In the Next Place ; Wee'll see what it pro-  
 duce'd, and weigh the *Benefits* with the *Inconve-*  
*niences*.

Lastly,

Lastly ; Wee'll look into the probable Effects , and Influence of it ; as related to the English Temper, Custome, and Government.

The Rise of  
Cromwells Stand-  
ing Army.

Exall Collect.  
Pap. 44.

Ibid.



The Conse-  
quences of the  
House of Com-  
mons Guard.

To the first ; what I here call a *Standing Army*, was but the Emprovement of a *Slight Temporary force*, rays'd, (in pretense at first) as an *Expedient* against *Plots*, (being indeed it self the Greatest ) but *Encreas'd*, *Continued*, and *Carried on*, by *Policy*, and *Power*. This Project came from the *Cabale* in 1641. Couch'd under the Notion of *A Guard* for the *House of Commons*: [ *Who conceiv'd that they could not with the Safety of their Persons, ( upon which the Safety and Peace of the whole Kingdom did then depend ) sit any longer Unarmed, and Unguarded* ] — so great were their [ *Apprehensions, and just Fears of mischievous Designs, to ruine and destroy them* ]

This was the Popular Colour for that *Guard* ; *Plots*, and the *Safety* of the *Publique*. Where the *Plot* was, in *Truth* ; and where the *Reall Danger* ; may be gather'd from the *Practises* of Those *Armies*, whereof The *Guard* aforesaid was but the *Rise* and *Foundation*. ( And That's the point we handle next. )

The setting of This little Force a-foot, was a fair Step toward the *Milisia* ; One *Guard* begetting *Another* ; and the same Reason standing good, for the *Augmenting*, and *Upholding* of Those *Troupes*, which was employ'd for the first *Raising* of them. The *Parliament* was first in *Danger* ; the *City*,  
Next ;

Next; and *Then* the Nation: and as their *Jelousies* Encreas'd, so must Their *Forces*, till by Degrees they grow to an *Army*. The *King*, and his *Adherents*, they call the Common-Enemy; whom they *Invade* and *Vanquish*.

Here's their work done in short; what have they now to *fear*? Only *New-Modelling*, or *Disbanding*. A blessed Translation of the *Government*, from the *Rule* of the *Law*, to the *Power* of the *Sword*! and There to *abide*, till *One Army* be remov'd by *Another*: That is; the *Tyranny* abides; no matter tho' under several *Formes*, and *Tyrants*.

Our *LEGIONS* of the *Reformation*, were *Rais'd* by certain *Rebellious Lords*, and *Commons*; and *Seconded* by the *City of London*. Wee'll see now, how they behav'd themselves towards their *Masters* and *Friends*,

In 1647. the *Army Reformes*, and *Purges* the *House*; Presses their *Dissolution*. Seizes their *General Pointz* in the *North*; Squeezes and Menaces the *City of London*; Marches up to it, and in *Triumph* through it. Takes Possession of the *Tower*; Charges the *Maior* with divers *Aldermen*, and *Citizens*, of *High-Treason*. Alters their *Militia's*, and *Common-Counsel*; and finally, gives the *Law* to the *House*, and *That* to the *Nation*.

The Effects of  
a Standing  
Army.

In *Decemb.* 1648. the *Army* gives the *House* another *Purge*; and the year following, *Cromwel* himself had like to have been out-trick'd by the *Levellers* about *Banbury*.

K

In

In 1653. The *Army* Casts off the *Ol. Conventicle*, and up goes *Oliver*, who calls *Another*; only to get a *Taxe*, and a *Title*: and when They had done the *One* half, and made way to the *Other*; off goes *That* too. The *Next* was call'd in 1654. another after *That* in 1656. and Both were serv'd with the same Sauce.

If *Cromwell* could as easily have moulded the *Army*, as *That* did the *Houfe*, his businesse had been done with half the Ceremony; but *Many* was *Their* business, and *Kingship* *His*, so that they help'd him in the *One*, and Cross'd him in the *Other*.

Note:

In *Septemb. 1658. Oliver Dies*; and Then, they are *Richard's Army*; whose *puishe Highness* must have *His Parliament* too. They meet; and notwithstanding a huge Pack of *Officers* and *Lawyers*, the *Vote* prov'd utterly *Republican*, and *Friend*, neither to *Single-Person*, nor *Army*.



Now, *Richard* takes his turn: but *first*, down goes his *Parliament*: and for a while, the *Army-Officers*, undertake the *Government*.



Some *Ten dayes* after, up with the *Rump* again, and then they're *Lenthall's Army*: which, in *Octob. 1659.* throws out the *Rump*, and now they're *Fleetwood's Army*. Enter the *Rump* once more, in *Decemb.* and once more the *Army* comes about again. The *Rump's* next *Exit*, is for ever, *March the 16. 1660.*

Exit  
The Rump.

Behold the *Thorough-Reformation*; and every *Change* Seal'd with a *Sacrament*, to have been  
an



an Act of *Conscience*, and guided by a Divine Impulse.

Behold the *Staff* of the *Rebellion*; both the *Support* and *Punishment* of it; a *Standing Army*.

While *Plots* could either be *Procured*, or credibly *suggested*, the *Innocent* were their *Prey*, and when That entertainment say'd them, they worried *one-another*: — never at *Peace*; betwixt the *Sirise*, first to *Subject* the *Nation*, and Then to *Govern* it.

So long as the *Royal Interest* was in *Vigour*; it was the *Faction's* Policy to engage all sorts of People, whom they could possibly *Unite* against That Interest; however *Disagreeing* among Themselves, *their first work* being only to *Destroy* the King) and This was the *Composition* of the *first Army*. All Factions unite against the King.

From *Killing* they Proceed to *take Possession*; and here Ensues a greater Difficulty.

A *Force* is Necessary still, but the State of the *Dispute* being *Chang'd*, the *Former Mixture* is not for their *present* purpose: the *Conspirators* that agreed to *overthrow* the *Government*, being now *Divided* who shall *Enjoy* it. Hereupon, they fall to *Sorting* and *Purging* of *Parties*; the *Independent* at last carrying it, and *Oliver* in the *Head* of them. They Divide.

After this *Decision* of the *Contest* betwixt the *Two Factions*, the *Army* it self *divides*; and *Cromwell* is now more puzzled with the *Private Contrivements* of his own *Officers*, then he was before And Subdivide;

with the open Power of his profess'd *Enemie*, for they are cleerly for his Ruling *with* them, but not *over* them; so that unless he can both *Upheld* them for his *Security*, and *Modell* them for his *Design*, he does nothing: In *Both* He labour'd, and beyond Question, *Di'd* in the Despaire of perfecting *Either*, finding upon Experience, that his *Ambition* was as *Intolerable* to his Party, as the *Charge* of *Continuing* his *Army* was to the *Publique*; and what the *Latter* was, wee'll read in own words, deliver'd at a Conference, *April 21. 1657.*

The present Charge (sayes he) of the Forces both by Sea and Land, including the Government, will be 2426989 l. The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland, is about 1900000 l. I think this was Reckoned at the Most, as now the Revenue stands: Why now towards This, you settle by your Instrument 1300000 l. for the Government, and upon That Account to maintain the Force by Sea and Land, and This without Land-Taxe I think, and this is short of the Revenue, that now may be Raised by the Government, 600000 l. because you see the Present Government is 1900000 l. and the whole Summe which may now be Raised, comes of the Present Charge 542689. And although an End should be put to the Spanish Warr, yet there will be a Necessity of the Preservation of the Peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the Present Established Army in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and also a considerable Fleet, for some good Time; untill it shall please God, to Quiet, and Compose Mens Minds, and bring the Nation to some better Consistency: so that Considering the Pay of the Army, coming to upwards 1100000 l. per annum, and the Government 300000 l. it will be necessary, that for some convenient Time, seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a Wound healed before it be; that there should be Raised

Raised over and above 1300000 l. the Summs of 600000 l. per annum, which makes up the Summe of 1900000 l. That likewise the Parliament declare how far they will carry on the Spanish War; and for what Time, and what farther Summe they will raise for the carrying on the same, and for what Time, and if these Things be not Ascertained, as one saith, Money is the Cause certainly, what ever the Cause is; if Money be Wanting, the business will fall to the ground, and all our Labour will be Lost, and therefore I hope you will have a care of our Undertakings.

How many Souls, Lives, Millions; and Noble Families; How well a Temper'd Government; How Gracious a Prince, and happy a People, were by This Cursed Army Destroy'd; will need no more then their own Consciences to determine, when Divine Vengeance shall call them to a Reckoning. It brought forth (briefly) the worst of Crimes, and Mischiefs, without the least Tincture of a Comfort, or shadow of a Benefit. Nor was it likely to do other, if we consider either the People, Place, Custome, or Government, they were to work upon.

The Effects of  
a Military  
Government.

Concerning the People (first) [*Populi ferè omnes ad Aquilonem positi, Libertatem quandam spirant*] 'Tis Bodin's observation, that your Northern Nations are Generally keen Assertours of Freedom; (which for their Parts, the English made too true) How could it be Expected then, that a People, which Oppos'd their Lawfu'l Prince for the fear of Slavery, should ever finally Submit to a Rebelious Usurper under the Actual and Shameful Extremity;

The English  
Impatient of  
Slavery.

tremity of it? This *Reluctancy* of Humour in the *Generality*, joyn'd with the *Particular Vigilance*, *Loyalty*, and *Enterprisings* of the *Royallists*; render'd those *Courses Necessary* at present, to the *Usurper*, which must certainly sink him in the *End*.

Nor was it more against the *Genius* of the *People*, than against the *Interest* and *Reason* of the *Place*.

The *Place*, we are to consider as an *Island*; no *Foreign Danger* then in view, to Palliate the *Oppression* of an *Army*; nor any Subject whereupon to turn the *Influence* of it. No *Stranger* in the *Case* concern'd; only at *Variance* with our selves; we breed and nourish in our proper bowels, the *Evill* that *Devours*, or, at the best, *Consumes* us. The *Army* fear'd the *Plots*, but 'twas the *Nation* felt them, and the *Result* of all was only a *Dispute* betwixt the *Civill* and the *Military Power*; *Law*, and *Necessity*: so that Effectually (the two Parties of this Division thus Enterwatching and Counter-Plotting one another) we were rather in a *State of War* than a *Posture of Security*, the *People* being at this Election, either to *Resist*, or *Starve*, and the *Army*, as much oblig'd, to make good their undertaking, or fall to nothing. What could be Rationally the Issue of these *Provocations*, and *Animosities*, but either the *Destruction* of the *Army* by the *People*; or of the *People* by the *Army*, in Order to a General *Quiet*? Neither of them being safe, but by the *Ruine*, and *Subjection* of

of the *Other*. If the *People* refuse to *Pay*, they are Presently *Dis-affected*; if the *Souldiery* be their own *Carvers*, they are look'd upon as *Tyrannical*, and *Insolent*; and here's *Matter* furnish'd for a *Civill Warr*.

Now That which makes the *Case* Worse, is (as I said) that being *Islanders*, and wanting the Colour of *Arming* against *Dangerous Neighbours*, we are forc'd to spend That humour in *Mutiny* among our *selves*, which might Otherwise be *Diverted* by, and *Employ'd* upon, a *Publique Quarrell*.

*A Digression to the State of*

FRANCE.

Upon the *Continent* 'tis Otherwise; as in *France*, (for the Purpose) where though the King Enterteins a *Standing Army* of 12000. and about *Fourscore Regiments* more, in *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Catalogne*, and *Luxemburgh*; (besides *Strangers*) There's yet the *Countenance* of an *Interest*, and a *Prudentiall Ground* for't: to *Ballance* the *Power*, or at least *Check* the *Progress* of his *Ambitious Neighbour Spain*. For, (sayes the *Duke of Rohan* in his *Interest of France*) *Il faut opposer La Force à la Force. Car niles persuasions, ni la Justice des armes, ne fera la loi à celui qui sera armé, tellement que la France doit se retrancher de toute autre despense mains utile, & estre toujours puissamment armé.*

[*Force.*

It seems to be  
the Interest of  
France to  
maintain a  
Standing Ar-  
my.

[Force must meet Force, for 'tis the Sword that gives the Law to Equity, and Reason; wherefore let France rather be sparing in any other way, then in the Constant Entertainment of a Puissant Army.]

It may be Argu'd too, that the Exercise of *Armes*, is the Profession of the French Nobility, and in Effect, 'tis only Warr abroad keeps them in Peace at home. Yet even in France it self, where the Necessity of a *Standing-Army* is bolster'd up with so many fair *Appearances*, the Effects are Dismall, how plausible soever the first *Occasion* seem'd.

Where it began, or what it was, not a rush matter, but, that by Gradual *encroachments*, from small, and *Temporary Pretenses*, 'tis now grown to a *Constant*, and *unlimited Excess*, he that knows any thing of France, cannot be Ignorant.

They that fetch it from *Guntran* King of *Orleans*, 587. look too far back methinks, and entitle the Tyranny to too fair a President. His Case being This.



*Guntran* was the Survivor of Four Brothers; Sons of *Clotaire* the First; the other Three, being *Cherebert*, *Chilperic*, and *Sigibert*. The Eldest of These, Died *Childlesse*, and the other Two were Murder'd by the Practises of *Fredegonde*, (first the *Mistresse*, and afterward the *Wife* of *Chilperic*.)

'*Sigibert*, supinely indulging himself in the height of his *Conquests*, and *Pleasures*, was Stabb'd in his

'OWN

‘ own Palace by a Couple of Souldiours, employ’d  
 ‘ by *Fredegonde*, who did as much at last for her  
 ‘ Husband *Chilperic* ; having first Caused him to  
 ‘ Murder his Son *Clouis* ; to Divorce one Wife, and  
 ‘ Strangle another. The Story is Short, and a little  
 Curious.

‘ *Fredegonde* had a Gallant, called *Landry de la*  
 ‘ *Tour*, by Her, Preferr’d to be Duke of France and  
 ‘ *Maire of the Palace*).

‘ The King comes one Morning in his Hunting-  
 ‘ Dress into the Queens Chamber, as she was busie  
 ‘ about her Head, with her Hair over her Eyes ;  
 ‘ and (without a word speaking) tickles her on the  
 ‘ Neck with the Twigg-end of his Riding-wand.  
 ‘ Ah *Landry* (sayes she) *That’s not Cavalier like, so* A sad Mistake.  
 ‘ *come Behind*. The King was as much surpriz’d  
 ‘ with the Discovery, as *Fredegonde* with the Mi-  
 ‘ stake ; and went his way with the Thought of it  
 ‘ in his Countenance. *Landry* is presently sent for  
 ‘ by the Queen, They discourse the Accident, De-  
 ‘ bate the Consequences, and in the End, Complot  
 ‘ to have *Chilperic* Murdered as he returns from the  
 ‘ Chase, which was Executed, with much Ease  
 ‘ and Security, the King being only attended with  
 ‘ a Single Page, who Dy’d with his Master, and the  
 ‘ Murderers escap’d.

This *Chilperic* had, by *Fredegonde*, *Clotaire* the  
 Second, (but Four Moneths old at the Death of his  
 Father ) and the Regency of King and Kingdom  
 was Committed to *Gunsran*. ( the young Kings  
 Uncle by the Fathers side ) The Regent, warn’d  
 by the Miscarriage of his Brothers, and being en-  
 L form’d

A Guard both  
Surable and  
necessary about  
the Person of a  
King.

form'd that the same Hand by which They fell,  
sought His Life also; *Establishes a Considerable*  
*Guard, constantly to attend his Person: which was*  
both suitable to his *Wisdom*, and *Dignity*; as a  
Security, against not only the *stroke of Violence*,  
but the very *Thought* of it, and a fit Circumstance of  
*Majesty*.

The Maitres of  
*France* abus'd  
the Confidence  
of their Ma-  
sters.

The Influence of This Force went not far, nor, in  
Truth, the *Royalty* of their first Race of *Kings*, much  
farther: whose either *Lonely* or *Awesomess* to  
*Business* of State, gave their *Great Counsellours* the  
means to *Usurp*, and *Transferr* Their *Authority*,  
which Confidence they abus'd to the *Supplanting*  
of their Masters.

*Complaints, Suits, References, Addresses*, must be  
made, forsooth, to the *Majors*, not to the *Kings*:  
They undertake the *Disposition* of *Monies*, and *Of-  
fices*; the *Menage* of *Treaties* and *Alliances*: They  
*Grant, Revoke* at Pleasure: Briefly, from 632. to  
756. *France* was rather under a *Majorality*, then a  
*Monarchy*: and Then, (Pope *Zachary*, having first  
*Absolv'd* the *French* of their Oath of *Obedience*)  
the Race of *Childeric* is Laid By; *Himself* (the  
Fourth of that Name) formally *Degraded*; and  
Cast into a *Monastery*, by Decree of *Parliament*; and  
*Pepin* Install'd in his Stead. Thus did the Son  
of the Last Great Subject make himself the First of  
the Second Race of *Kings*: of which, in requital for  
too much said upon the First, I shall say nothing at  
all. Nor much more upon This Subject; save  
only that *Charles* the VII. and his Successour *Louis*  
the XI. Laid the first firm Foundation of the Mi-  
litary

*Pepin*, the Son  
of a Powerful  
Subject, depo-  
ses his Prince,  
and sets up  
Himself.



litary Power; to which, *Charles the VIII. Francis the I. &c.* have since furnish'd their *Additionals*, and *Superstructures*, to make the *Tyranny complete*.


'Tis Truth; the *Splendor*, and *Profusion* of the *Court and Camp*, is *Dazzling*, and *Prodigious*; they swim in *Pleasures* and *Plenty*: but he that turns his Eye toward those *Miserable Animals*, the *Peasants*, that with their *Blond*, and *Sweat*, *Feed* and *Support* that *Luxe*, and *Vanity* (with hardly bread for their own Mouths), will find it much a different *Prospect*; the great *Enhancers* of the Charge clayming *Exemption* from the *burthen* of it.

He that would see the *Glory* of the *One* Part, and the *Slavery* of the *Other*, needs only read The State of France.

## L'ESTAT de la FRANCE,

of 1661. Treating of the *Officers* of the *Crown*, *Honours*, *Governments*, *Taxes*, *Gabelles*, &c. He shall there find the *Venality* of *Officers*, and Their *Rates*; the *Privileges* of the *Nobility*, and Their *Encroachments*; Who are *Exempt* from *Payments*, or rather, that the *Country-man* *Pays* for *All*. To make an end, let him also observe the *Power*, and *Partiality* of their *Supereminent Parliament* of *Paris*.

The Book I mention, is of undeniable Authority, wherein Accompt is given of, at the least, *Eight Millions* (*English*) arising from *Three Taxes* only; and for the sole behoof and *Entertainment* of the *Souldiery* (their *Tailles*, *Tailles*, and *Subsistence*). Beside their *Aydes*; (an *Imposition* upon all sorts

 The effects of a Standing Army in France.

of Marchandise, *Salt* excepted) which must needs be a Vast *Income*: and their *Gabelles* upon *Salt*, that brings in near *Two Millions* more. Not to insist upon *Casualties*, and infinite other Inventions for squeezing, which they Practise; *The Plough maintains the Army.*

Give them their Due, their *Noblesse* are brave and Accomplish'd men. and the *Brunt* of all Hazzards lies totally upon *Them*; but scarce in Nature is there a more *abject Commonalty*: and to conclude; such is their Condition, that without *Warr*; they cannot *Live*: if not *Abroad*, they are sure to have it at *Home*.



Let it be Noted too, the *Taxes* follow'd their *Army*, not their *Army* the *Taxes*; for 'tis *One* thing to Levy *Mony* to Raise *Guards*, and *Another* thing to Levy *Guards* to Raise *Mony*: the *One* appearing to be done by *Consent*, the *Other* by *Force*. (I use *Guards* and *Army* promiscuously, as only taking a *Guard* for a *Small Army*, and an *Army* for a *Stronger Guard*.)

A Standing  
Army more  
hazardous  
in England,  
than in France.

**I**F a *Standing Army* subjects *France* to so many Inconveniences, (whereof History is full) where the *Strength* lies in the *Nobility*, How much more Hazzardous was it to *England*, where the *welfare* of the *whole*, depended upon the *Affections* and *Interest* of the *Middle-rated* People: Especially under an *Usurper*, that was driven to uphold himself upon the daily consumption of the Nation: (and a *Body*, that becomes every day *Weaker* then *Other*, must not expect to be long-liv'd.)

So

So much for the Inconvenience of *Cromwell's* Standing Army, as to the *Situation of England*, together with a View of the Effects of it in *France*. Wee'll now consider what Welcome it was like to find upon the *Points of Experience*, or *Customs*.

*Alteration of Customs*, is a work of *Hazard*, even in *Bad Customs*, but to Change Customs under which a Nation has been happy, for *Innovations*, which upon *Experience* they have found *Fatal* to them, is matter of great *Perill* to the *Undertaker*. But I look upon *Oliver's Case*, as I do upon a Proposition, of such or such a *Mate* as *Cheffe*: where there are several wayes to come within *One* on't, and *None* to *His* it. The *Devil* and *Fortune* had a mind to *Puzzle* him. He *Prefers* his *Pawnes*; *Transposes*, *Shifts* his *Officers*, but all will not do; he still wants either *Men*, or *Money*; if he *Disbands*, he has too few of the *One*, if he *holds up*, he has too little of the *Other*. Such in Truth, was This *Tyrants* Exigence, that he was forc'd to That, which the *Lawful Possessors* of the *English Crown* would never venture upon. No nor the *Usurpers* neither, before Our Blessed Reformers of 1641. But

Alterations of  
Customs dan-  
gerous.

— Where will Those People Stay,  
That thorough God, and Majesty, make way?

Our *Saxon Kings* contented themselves with a *Law*, What *Armes* every man of *Estate* should  
Our *Saxon Kings* kept no  
Standing Ar-  
my.

find, and a mulct upon such as did Distractare Militia.

Nor Edmond  
Ironside.

Edmond Ironside after his Duell with Camillus the Dane; and a Composition, to divide the English, and Danish Kingdoms betwixt them and their Heirs, kept no Army on Foot to Guard the Agreement; Neither did The Danes (who after His Death, Treacherously Seiz'd the Kingdom) to maintain their Conquest.

Nor William  
the Conqueror.

William the Conqueror, that subdu'd both English and Danes, thought himself safe enough in Creating Tenures by Knights Service, and permitting Proprieties; though at That time under such Jealousies, that he took divers of his English Prisoners into Normandy with him, for fear of a Commotion in his Absence.

No William  
Rufus.

William Rufus, and, after Him, his Brother Henry the First, (tho' the Usurpers of the Senior Right of their Elder Brother Robert) set up his Rest upon the same Termes: And so did Henry the II. after a Long Contest with King Stephen, and notwithstanding the unruliness of most of his Sonnes.

Nor Hen. 3.  
Edw. 1. Edw.  
Nor Ric. 2.

Henry III. and then Edward I. after the Barons Warrs, Employ'd no Standing Army to secure themselves: neither did Edward or Richard the Second; notwithstanding a Potent Faction of the Nobility bandying against the Latter of them.

Nor the Hen-  
ries 4, 5, 6, & 7.

Neither did the Henries IV. V. & VI. in the Grand Schism of York and Lancaster, ever approve of it. Nor Henry VII. (as Wise and Jealous as any of his Predecessours.)

If any thing could have warranted the Adventure, methinks the *Topsy-turvy* and *Brouillery* which *Henry the VIII.* introduc'd, might have perswaded, or Provok'd it. But neither *There*, nor in the following *Tasse and Tumble* of Religion, from *Edward VI.* to *Queen Mary*, and then back again to *Queen Elizabeth*, was it put in Practice.

Not Hen. 8.  
Edw 6. Queen  
Mary, nor  
Queen Eliz.

*King James* had no temptation to it, *King Charles the Martyr*, was indeed charg'd with the Intention of it, and so he was with being Popishly affected; (In Truth, with what not?) and the One as True as the Other. But who were They that laid This to His Charge? Even *Those very Persons*, (some of them) that advis'd *Oliver* to keep a *Standing Army*, of 10000 Horse, and 20000 Foot, to Aw, and Scourge the Nation. A Course unknown to our Forefathers; and by the Best, and Worst of Former Princes equally disallow'd; the Bad not judging it Safe, nor the Good, Expedient.

Not K. James,  
nor Charles the  
MARTYR.



But other more Convenient, and as Effectual, means they had, either to Prevent Dangers, or Suppress them, as Their Custome of *Friborghes* or *Prank-Pledges*, *Enquests*, *Oathes*, and *Punalties*, *Tenures* by *Knights-Service*, *Commissions of Array*, &c. which being of approv'd Benefit, and Equality, were much more suitable to the Genius and Interest of the People, than a *Standing Army*, which to allow, had been no other then to deliver up the Strength of the Nation, into the hands of a *Faction*.

Expedients to  
prevent or dis-  
appoint Dan-  
gers.

Not

A Standing  
Army destruc-  
tive to the  
Government.

Not was it, lesse against the *Government*, than against the *Humour* of the Nation. Put a *Parliament* over the *Nation*, and an *Army* over the *Parliament*. *Who Governs?* But all *Oliver's Geese were Swans*; and his *Souldiers Saints*. Did they not *Take* what they would; *Give* what they would; *Raise* and *Pluck-down* at *Pleasure*? Nay; Effectually, did ever any *Standing-Army*. Other, if they had nothing *Else* to do. Had they not already got the *Trick* of *Calling* the *People* together, to *Get* *Mony* of them; and then sending them away like *Buzzards*, when they had gotten it? of *Packing*, and *Qualifying*; *Engrossing* of *Powers* and *Offices*; *Cantonizing* the *Nation*? Was it to be expected they should restore the *Right Line* again, when they had set up the *Wrong*? The *King*, when they had erected a *General*; The *Law*, when they had Master'd it by the *Sword*? They did not *Tug* so *hard*, for that they meant to part with *Easily*. What they got by *Rebellion*, was to be *mainteyn'd* by *Tyranny*; and *Necessity* was sure at *Last* to do the work of *Conscience*.

An Army with-  
out Pay, is the  
most Dange-  
rous Enemy.

I Think; more need not be said to *Oliver's Standing-Army*. His *Mony* could not last *alwayes*, and when he wanted *That* once; he was certain to find his *Army*, as *Dangerous* an *Enemy*, as it had been a *Faithfull Friend* to him in his *Prosperity*.

Nay truly, 'bate his *Usurpation*; his want of *Faith* and *Honour*, — But rather then *Prophane* the *Sacred Character* of *God's Vicegerent* by joyning *Majesty* and *Cromwell* in the same *Supposition*; let

us Imagine rather a *Wise* and *Lawfull Prince* in the place of that *Usurper*; and yet it may be a Question, How far a *Standing Army* would have Consisted with the Interest, even of a *Rightfull Monarch*.

*First*; As the Nation was *Poor*, and in no Condition for the *Charge* of it. *Next*; as it was Impoverished by an *Army*; and therefore ill-persuaded of *That Expedient*. *Thirdly*, the *Prince* himself must have been *Poor*; (in *Oliviers Place*) and what should a *Poor Prince* have done with a *Standing Army*, over a *Poor* and *Discontented People*?

The Interest of This world is *Money*. *Subjects Rebell*; *Armies Divide*; and *Kingdoms fall to nothing*, for want of it: That which *Fools* call *Fortune*, being (to men of *clearer sight*) only the *Favourable Influence of Treasure*. 'Tis *That*, which Carries *Townes*, *Causes*, and *Armies*; puts *Knaves* in *Honest mens places*; *Corrupts Counsels*, and *Supplants Governments*: the *People* wear their *hearts* at their *purse-strings*; and a *General Oppression*, is ever accompanied with a *General desire* to *Remove* it. I speak of what they *do*, not what they *ought* to *do*; for *all men* are not of a *Constitution* to *hang*, and *Sterve* for *Conscience*. In fine, where the *State* is *Necessitous*, and a *Faction* *Wealthy*, That *Prince* (as is already hinted) that erects a *Standing Force*, in that condition, does but provide an *Army* for his *Enemies*. Not to insist upon the *hazards*, arising either from the *People*, if the *Principal Officers* have

Money is the Interest of This World.



too little Power; or from the Officers Themselves, if they have too much; by which, not only the *Publique Peace*, but the *Monarchy* it self, is *Endanger'd*; the *Kings Crown* depending upon the *Revolts* of a *Province*. What can be more perillous then *This Conjunction*; where there is so great a *Temptation*, on the one hand, and so great a *Provocation* on the other, where the *Multitude* wait only for a *Head*, and the *Ambitious* for a *Party*?

What's the  
Benefit of a  
Standing Army.

But why do I discourse the *Mischiefs* of a *Standing Army*? They are too many, great and *Obvious*, to admit a *Question*. What are the *Benefits* of it Rather? Is it either *safe* to any *Purpose*, or *Useful* to the *common* and *pretended end* of it, even under a *Lawful* and *Hereditary Monarch*?

The Mischief  
and Danger  
of it.

It's true; a *Prince* may deal with his *Dominions*, as the *Gentleman* did with his *Estate*, that turn'd an *Inheritance* into an *Annuity*, because he would rather have it *Large*, then *Long*, and That's the *Fairest* of a *Foreign Government*; Suppose he save himself for his *own time*; what will become then of his *Successour*? But that wee'll waive too; and Consider, what's the *Fruit* of it to *himself*?

Is he the *Richer* for't? Alas, the *Contrary*: the *Nation* bears a *Double Burthen*, and the *Army* Sucks the *better half* of the *Advantage*. Is he the *Safer*? Neither: for a *Mutiny* in his *Army*, is both more *likely*, and more *dangerous*, then a *Tumult* among his *People*. In fine; A *Standing Army* may promote a *Faction*, but 'tis the *Law* preserves the *Publique*, and consequently the *King*.



That



That Monarch that Secures himself from *Private Practices* by a Choice, Full, and Honourable Guard, well Paid, and *Disciplin'd*, about his Royall Person; as to the Rest shall find the Strict and timely Execution of Good Lawes the best *Publique Security* against *Sedition*.

A Royall Guard Necessary and Sufficient.

With the timely execution of Good Laws.

'Tis a Cheap Remedy, and therefore Acceptable to the *Generality*: A *Legall* one; so that the *Delinquents Themselves* cannot Complain of it; and Lastly, 'tis a *Sure* one: which if it be, what can be more advisable for any *Prince and People*? In Truth; so *Sure* it is, that I'm to seek ('bate only Matter of *Claim*) where ever any Setled Government was Embroyl'd, but either by the *Interest* of a *Standing Force*; or the *Remissness* of *Authority*, in the Execution of *Establish'd Lawes*.

The *Necessity* of a Royall Guard is Evident; the *Number* must be suited to the differing *Exigences* of *Times* and *Places*: but with This *General Regard*: That it be not only sufficient to the *Safety* of a *Prince*; but *Honourary* likewise; and Accommodate to his *Dignity*; and *Demonstrative* rather of his *Power* than of his *Danger*.

But be the Body *Great or Small*; Nay, wee'll suppose it equal, to a *Standing Army* (but not Distributed (as That is) into *County-Troops*, and *Provincial Governments*) Call it a *Guard* still, for the very *Name* of the *Other* sounds like a *Grievance*. The *One*, supposing only the *Peoples Care* of their *Sovereign*; the *Other* intimating the *Sovereigns Jealousie* of his *People*. Let me not be understood as



in allowance of This *Over-proportion* : for such a *Guard* is but an *Army in Disguise*.

There may be *Temporary Occasions* indeed, for *Temporary*, and *Extraordinary Levies*, but the word *Temporary*, is commonly attended with such a Train of Reasons for *Perpetuity* ; that if the *Occasion* be not very *Manifest* , the World is apt to doubt of the *Necessity*. Not that the *Generality* have any Right to judge of, or *Debate* the *Grounds* of a Change ; but I suppose that Their *Opinions*, and *After-feelings* will not be deny'd to have some Influence upon the *Events* of it.

To Conclude ; That Prince is *Great, Safe, and Happy*, that Commands by his *Armies, Abroad*, and Governs by his *Laws at Home*. The Apprehension of *Conspiracies* and *Plots*, in my opinion, weighs not much ; or if there be any danger ; the failing is rather in the *Constitution* or *Administration*, then in the want of *Power* to keep the People quiet : *Good Laws*, and *Good Officers*, will do the *Business*, without an *Army* ; and if the *Instruments* be bad, The *Hazzard's* Ten times greater with it.

It will be needful here, for the *Clearing* of the Question, to make a *Particular Enquiry* concerning *Seditions* ; and That's the Point we'll handle in the Next Chapter ; which, for *Order sake*, we shall divide into *Seven Sections*, with their *Subdivisions* as occasion shall require.

## CAP. IX.

*Of Seditions in Particular; and shewing in what manner they arise from These Seaven Interests. The Church; the Bench; the Court; the Camp; the City; the Countrey; and the Body Representative.*

**I**N the first Chapter of this Tract, we have touch'd upon the *Matter and Causes of Seditions in General*: We must be now a little more *Particular*.

The *Scene's Utopia*; and wee'll *Divide it*; into *Seaven Interests*. The *Church*; the *Bench*; the *Court*; the *Camp*; the *City*; the *Countrey*; and the *Body Representative*: the least considerable of which, being in any great disorder, hazzards the *whole*; and That, either by engaging in some *Actual Violence*, against the *Government*; or by some *Irregularity of Proceeding* that may *Provoke or Cause it*. Of *These* in their *Course*; and *first of the Church*.

## SECT. I.

*Seditions Arising from the* **CHURCH.**

**T**Hose *Troubles* in the *State* which derive from *Distempers* in the *Church*, proceed either from *Faction*, *Ignorance*, or *Scandal*.

Conscience the  
strongest Tie.

The Strongest Tie upon Reasonable Nature, is Conscience; and the Stabbornest Consciences, are Those that do they know not *What*, they know not *Why*. In Truth, what is Conscience without Understanding, but a *well-meaning Madnesse*? And That's the Fairest Sense my Charity can Afford to the Blind Zeal of a Transported Multitude. If Conscience bids them *Kill the King*; *Rob the Church*; and *Tear up the Foundations of Both Governments*; They'll do it: Nay More, This *has* been done, and Providence it self Proclaim'd for the Doer of it. Great Heed should then be taken, what Persons are Entrusted with the Care of Souls, since the Consequence of a *Falsium Preacher*, and a *Mistaken Conscience*, proves many times the Ruine both of Prince and People.

Under the Note of *Falsium*, I comprize all opinions delivered *Publicly*, and with *Design*, against the *Doctrins*, *Practices*, or *Authority* of the Church. Reduce it, in Short, to *Heresy*, and *Schisme*. The former whereof, reflecting only upon Matters of *Faith*, concerns rather *Religion*, then *Governments*: and lyes beyond the Line of my Purpose; but in This Place; the latter is the Question; and, briefly as we may, wee'll take a view of the *Rise*, the *Method*, the *Design*, and the *Effects* of it.

It is with Church-men as with other Mortals; There are of all Sorts, *Good*, *Bad*, and *Indifferents*. Some we have known, whom neither the *Losse* of *Dignity*, *Fortune*, *Freedom*, no, nor the *Losse*

Losse of Life it self, could even move from the strict Rule of Conscience, Magnanimity, and Duty. Others we have seen to Exercise these Cruelties, (though Ecclesiastiques themselves) upon the Nobler Sort of their own Function. And some again, we have Observ'd to shift with every Turn, and Steer by Interest, Still putting on the Livery of the Prevayling Party: Squaring the Rule, and Will of Heaven to the Appetites and Passions of Humanity: so that upon the whole, 'tis evident; some Clergy-men are Quiet, because they have Preferments, and others Troublesome, because they want them.

The Principal Ingredients into Schisme are These; Ambition, Avarice, Popularity, and Envy; The Scope of it is to destroy Authority, and advance a Faction. Now how to accomplish This, is the great work; for a Rent in the Church signifies nothing without a Sedition in the State: and in This manner they Proceed.

First, in a Style of Holy Tenderneffe they slyly disaffect the People against the Rites of the Church, as in themselves unlawful; and utterly Destructive of Christian Liberty.

The Rise of Schism.

To strengthen, and advance the Imposture, what do they next, but rip up all the Faylings, and shew the Nakednesse of their Superiours? still aggravating what they find, and Creating Scandalous Matter where they want it.

The Method of it.

When

The Motion of  
Schism into Se-  
dition.

The Design.



When the Multitude are once mov'd in *Conscience* against the *Imposition*; and in *Passion* against the *Imposers*, their next attempt is upon the *Authority*, and Then they divide into *Separate Assemblies*, which under colour of so many *Conscientious Dissenters* from the *Ceremonies* of the *Church*, are infallibly so many *contrivers* against the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*. For here comes in the *Civill Power* to prohibit their *Seditious meetings*, and Then, the *Saints* (they cry) are *Persecuted*: The *Cause* is *God's*; and they are ty'd in *Conscience*, to bind their *Kings in Chains*, and through all *Extremities* to pursue a *Reformation*: This is the *Fruit of Tolerating a Faction under a Countenance of Conscience*. Not is it any wonder to see Those wretches draw their *Swords* against Their *Sovereign* in the *Field*, whose *Souls* are turn'd against him in the *Pulpit*.

But 'tis Objected, that some *Ministers* do really make a *Conscience*, of *Conformity*. Truly, the better for *Them*, if they forbear upon *That Accompt*; but 'tis the same Thing to the *Publique*, upon *what-accompt-soever*, for they *Prescribe*, what they *Practise*, and by the *President* of *Sticking* upon a *Doubt* of *Conscience*, they open a *Dore* to *Disobedience* upon any *Pretence* of it, breaking the *Bond of Unity* in favour of a *Particular nicety* of *Opinion*.

And Effect of  
it.

Note.

Very Notable is The Determination of the *Lord St. Albans*, in This Case: [*In Points Fundamental*, he that is not with us is against us. *In Points not Fundamental*, he that is not against us, is with us.]

Let

Let this suffice to shew the *Political Inconvenience of Enterprising Schismatical Preachers*. It may be now a Question, *How far a Christian Magistrate may justify the sufferance of any man to exercise the Ministry, within his Dominions, that's a profess'd Enemy to Episcopacy*: Which I Offer, with the fit *Modesty of a Proposal*, and with *Reverence to the better-inform'd*. But if, as the *Danger of such a Mixture is Evident*, so the *Lawfulness of it shall appear doubtful*, their own *Argument* is then turn'd against *Themselves*, and we have both *Scripture and Experience* on our side, over and above.

Qu. May an enemy to Bishops, exercise the Ministry?

The *Three Questions*, wherewith King Charles the Martyr Choak'd the *Presbyterian Ministers* in the *Isle of Wight*, Remain still *Unresolv'd*, and they are These.

First, *Is there any Certain Form of Church-Government at all prescrib'd in the Word?*

Three Questions propounded by King Charles the Martyr, concerning Church Government.

Secondly, *If there be any Prescript Form, Whether or no may the Civil Power Change the same, as they see Cause?*

Thirdly, *If any Prescript Form there be, and That unchangeable; If it were not Episcopal, what was it?*

In *Fact*, the *Constant Exercise of Church-Prelacy* is so manifest, that the whole stream of *Story*, and *Tradition* Runs *Episcopal*: which to Oppose, were to deny the only Means of knowing whether it were so, or no.



Is it the *Right* they Question? Take then the learned Bishop *Sanderson's* Deduction of it.

The Derivation of Episcopal Government.

Leaving other men to the liberty of their own Judgments, my opinion is, that **EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT** is not to be derived merely from Apostolical Practice or Institution: but that it is originally founded in the Person and Office of the *Messias*, our Blessed Lord **JESUS CHRIST**. Who being sent by his Heavenly Father to be the great Apostle [HEB. III. 1.] Bishop and Pastor, [1 PET. II. 25.] of his Church, and anointed to that Office immediately after his Baptism by **JOHN**, with power and the Holy Ghost [ACT. X. 37---8.] descending then upon him in a bodily shape [LUK. III. 22.] did afterwards, before his Ascension into Heaven, send and empower his holy Apostles, (giving them the Holy Ghost likewise as his Father had given him) in like manner as his Father had before sent him [JOH. XX. 21.] to execute the same Apostolical, Episcopal, and Pastoral Office for the ordering and governing of his Church untill his coming again: and so the same Office to continue in them, and their Successors, unto the end of the world. [MAT. XXVIII. 18---20. Thus far the Reverend Bishop.

Some will Pretend, that This only proves the Authoritative Power they receiv'd by their Mission, but no Succession to the Office.

Christ's Mandate to the Apostles.

For That; Observe the Mandate, [Go, Teach ALL Nations.] Personally, and Actually they could



not do it; but in Effect, and Virtually, 'tis our of doubt, they *did* it: and *How*, but by their *Delegates*? For otherwise; our Saviour Commanded them a Thing *Impossible*. Briefly; if the Gospel was to be Preach'd to *All Nations*, (which no *Christian* will deny) and if (according to the Literal direction of the Order) the Gospel could *not* be Preach'd to all Nations, by so few Persons as were Then Commission'd, what follows, but the Evident *Necessity* of a *Substitution*: which *Delegation* being granted, clears the *Dispute*: for 'tis Indubitable that *What Authority-soever our Saviour vested the Apostles with, the same likewise was from Them transmitted to their Successors*; Who (in the words of his late Sacred Majesty) *succeed into the same Apostolical Power, and Function, which the Apostles, as Ordinary Pastors, had. Qui in Dominum alterius succedit, Jure ejus uti debet.* He that succeeds to the Government of another, succeeds also to his Rights of Governing. And Marque This further; that the Apostles Powers, and Commissions, were granted before the Descent of the Holy Ghost: and relating only to matters of Ordinary use, and perpetual Establishment in the Church: the *extraordinary Gifts* of the Apostles not at all proving them *extraordinary Officers*.

Now how far a Prince may safely either *Act*, or suffer the violation of a Church-Government of This Authority, I am not yet instructed. Episcopacy un-  
alterable.

In fine; it is most certain, that a *Divided Clergy* makes a *Divided Nation*; and by how much *Religion* is the fairest of all Pretenses; Conscience the

deepest

*Corruptio Opismi, l'effima.*

deepest of all Impressions; Preaching and Praying the most Popular and Publicque of all Operations: by so much are Dis-affected Church-men the most Pernicious and Intolerable of all Disloyall Instruments. No Calumny being so Plausible, as That which drops from the Lips of Persons famous for an External form of Piety: No Hypocrites so abominable, as Those that Tisbe Mint, and Cummin, and yet neglect Mercy and Judgement: that under colour of long Prayers devour Widows houses, &c. And no sting so Deadly, as That from a Snake in a mans own bosome.

We have now done with the Schismaticque; the Active and Industrious Promoter of Seditions. The Matter he works upon, is Scandal; either Suppos'd, or Real; and That comes next.

The Method of Schism.

In all Invektives against the Church, the Scandalous, Negligent, and Insufficient, March hand in hand: to which are opposed a Party that stile themselves a Godly, Painsful, and Able Ministry. Thus with the Boasting, and Censorious Pharisee, does the Proud Schismaticque advance himself above his Brethren, calling Good Evil, and Evil Good; imposing equally upon the People, by an uncharitable Judgement, and Report, on the One side, and a fictitious Holiness, on the Other.

Nor to excuse all Clergymen, nor to extenuate the Crimes of any of them. Judas his Treason was the Fouler because of his Profession: and yet the Eleven were never the worse, because of Judas his Treason.

Wee'll

Wee'll Graunt, that for a Minister to spend one Hour of the week, in a *Rulpis*, and the rest in a *Tavern*; to Undo a good Sermon by an *Ill Example*, and so discredit a *Strict Doctrine* by a *Loose Life*; is to extinguish the *Reverence*, that is due to the *Function*; and to make *Preaching* look only like a *Politique Ordinance* to keep the People in order. Not that the *Doctrine* is ever the worse for the Person, nor the *Priesthood* the less *Venerable* for the abuse of it; but it ministers matter of *Scandal*, and *Exception*; and with the *Simple* it passes for an *Argument* against the *Government*.

But as the *Habit of Drunkenness*, and *Prophane-ness*, in a Churchman is most *unsufferable*; so is it on the other hand a *Practice Diabolical*, to put all their *Actions* upon the *Tent*, and *Skrew up every allowable*, and *social Freedom* to the construction of a *Scandal*. As if there were no *Medium* to be admitted, betwixt the *Angel* and the *Brute*. Are they not *Men*; and equally subjected to *Infirmities*, with other *Men*? 'Tis true; their *Calling* is *Divine*, but their *Persons* are *Humane*; and as much is required, in regard of Their *Ministry*: so somewhat also is to be *born with* in respect of their *Humanity*. Remember, there were those that call'd our Saviour himself a *Wine-bibber*.

Alas; For a Minister to *Drink* a Glass of *Wine* in a *Tavern*, is made a mighty bus'ness; Nay, to be only *Pleasant*, and *well-bumour'd*, is by some, cast in their dish as an *Ayre too Light* for the *Severity* of their *Profession*; as if the *Messengers of Joy*, the *bearers of good-tidings* to the world, were only to be

A Scandalous  
Clergy, makes  
a Seditious  
Lairy.

Slander is the  
Sin and Prac-  
tice of the  
Devil.

Shun Appearances of Scandal.

Ignorance a Species of Scandal.

Bishops blamed by the more blameable.

be sad *Themselves*, and look, as if either They *Suspected* the *Truth* of their *Errand*, or their *Faith* to the *Benefit* of it.

However, since there are Those that will make use of *small Occasions* to do *great Mischief*; It is a *Point of Prudence*, fairly to shun *appearances* of *Scandal*; but it is indeed of high, and absolute *Necessity*, to *Punish*, or *Remove* the *Scandal* it self: as That which both *provokes* a *Judgment* from *Heaven*, and *stirs up* the *People* to execute it. Yet let us put some difference betwixt Sins of *Appetite*, and *Sense*; and Sins of *Malice*: in the *Former*, a man plays the *Wass*; but in the *Latter*, he plays the *Devil*.

I look upon *Ignorance* also, as a *Species* of *Scandal*, even although in a *Good Man*; for every *Good Man* makes not a *Good Minister*; nor do I know which is more tolerable; *Habitual Profaneness*, and *Sensuality* in a *Divine*, or *Ignorance* in a *Teacher*: the hazard of *False Doctrine*, or the Influence of an ill *Example*.

Touching the *Body* of the *Clergy*, enough is said, to shew the dangerous *Effects* of *Schism*, and *Scandal*; the one tending *Directly* to *Sedition*, the other, *Consequentially*.

There remains another *stumbling-block*, and That concerns the *Governours* of the *Church*, who are commonly charged with *Innovations*, *Rigour*, *Pride*, or *Avarice*. They are capable of All This, as they are *Men*; but never the more *blameable* for a *Clamour Levell'd*

at them as they are Bishops: There being great Difference, betwixt *Personal Reproof*, and a *Factional Confederacy*: betwixt the *seasonable Freedom of Counsell*, or *Reprehension*, duly Circumstanc'd, and the *contumacious Insolence of Subjects* toward their *Superiours*. In fine, a *likely Tale* does Their feat as well as a *certain Truth*: only they accommodate all their Stories to the Design of *overturning the Government*, and to the *Guilt of the Multitude*.

The Sound of *Innovations*, and of *Papery*, in some places, goes a great way with the *Common-people* toward a *Sedition*. They *Fear*, they *Wish*; they *Love*, they *Hate*, they know not what, and yet against This Terrible *Nothing*, shall they engage their Lives and Fortunes, as *Zealously*, as if their *Souls* lay at Stake, and as *Ridiculously*, as if they Phansy'd These same *Innovations* to be an Army of *Flying Dragons*, and the *Pope* leading them on upon a *Hobby-horse*. With This Device, the Multitude is first startled; and then *every Bush is a Thief*, *Church-Habits* are the *Trumpets of Rome*, *Devotcy* is *Superstition*, *Kneeling*, direct *Idolatry*, and finally, to *impose* all This, is interpreted a *violence upon the Consciences of the Gally*: Thus from the very *Metbode of Agreement*, is ray'd an *Argument for Separation*; and *Christian Liberty* is render'd *Disfranchisement of Humane Authority*.

Another General Objection, among the *Prouder Brethren*, is the *Pride of Bishops*, their *Lording it over Gods Heritage*; which through the *Person Wounds the Office*. Incensing the Multitude against the *Power* is self, under pretext of blaming the *unlawful*

Fears and Jealousies.

Bishops charged with Pride, by the Prouder Brethren.

*lawful Exercise of it. Suitable to the Dignity of Bishops, and Correspondent to the Duty of them, ought to be the Revenue: (that is, sufficient both for Honour and Hospitality) in which Particular, the Ecclesiastical Patrimony, is by some People thought as much too Large, as the Jurisdiction; and from a false, and envious Calculation of Bishops Rents, occasion is taken to inveigh against their Avarice; exposing them at once, both as a Grievance, and a Booby. Thus, like the Devil, the Schismatick advances his Kingdom by Slander, and shrouds by the sin of the People.*

We have dwelt long upon this Subject of the Church; but, with the next, the Bench we shall be quicker.

#### SECT. II.

#### THE BENCH.

Conscience  
and Law, Govern  
the world.

**T**HE Two main Springs that Move, and Govern the Affections of reclaim'd Nature, are *Conscience*, and *Law*. By the *Former*, we are oblig'd, in relation to our *Immortal Being*; and by the *Other*, as *Men Link'd in Society*. Our *Priests* and *Judges*, are the Oracles we depend upon, for *Counsel*, and *Instruction*, in both these grand Concerns; and if *They* deceive us, what greater Misery can befall a Nation, then to have *Jugglers*, and *Impostors*, take up the *Bench* and *Pulpit*? Countenancing the *Vulgar* with *False Weights*, and *Measures*, of *Truth* and *Reason*; and uttering their *Licentious Predicaments*, for *Law*, and *Gospel*? In which

Case

*Case*, the greater the *Modesty*, and *Virtue* of the *Common-people*, the greater is the *Peril* of the *Delusion*: it being their *Duty* to *submit*, to the *Reason* of the *One*, and to *Believe* the *Doctrine* of the *Other*, without *disputing* either, unless in matters most *Notoriously* *Repugnant* to the *Elements* of *Polity*, and *Religion*. And he's not his *Crafts-master*, that cannot give, even to the *feeblest* *Purpose*, a *Celour* fair enough to cheat a *Multitude*. What *Wickedness* is there, for which a *corrupt* *Divine* shall not produce a *Text*; and a *shifting* *Lawyer*, a *President*? But enough is said of the *Former*, and too much in *Preface* to the *Latter*.

Those *Faults*, among the *Professours* of the *Law*, which frequently *cause* *Seditions* (although not in *Themselves* *Seditious*) are, *Corruption*; *Partiality*; *Oppression*; *Chargeable Delays*; or, in a word, the *Non-administration* of *speedy Justice*. Whereupon must necessarily ensue *Poverty*, *Factions*, *Animosities*, &c. Occasions of Sedition.

The *Consequences* are *Dangerous* likewise; of *overstreyning* the *Prerogative*; and so of *Depressing* it: both which may be done; either out of *Zeal*, or with *Design*. But, be the *Intention* of the *Doer* what it will, the *Effects* of the *Thing done* are *Mischievous*; for it injects *Fears* and *Jealousies* of *Tyranny*, on the *one* side; and begets *False*, and *bold Opinions*, and *Attempts* of *Liberty* on the *Other*: engaging all *Humours* against the *Government*, whom either the *Hopes* and *Gust* of *Freedom*, or the *Dread* of *Oppression* can work upon. But *Personal* Vices,



*Vices, and Mistakes, we may put upon the Roll of Slow Poysons, that do the Deed, though it be long first.*

Seditious Law-  
yers and Schif-  
marical Di-  
vines are the  
most abominable  
Seducers.

There are another sort of *Lawyers*, whose Malice is of a *Quicker, and Stronger Operation*; under whose *Lips, is the Poysen of Aspes*: or rather, whose *Tongues are Daggers*, turning the *Point of Law*, upon the *Law* it self; *wounding the Eagle with a Feather from his own wing*, and *Stabbing the Persons of Princes with their own Authority*. These are the *Execrable Regicides*; and the *Tumultuary Rabble* are but the *Ministers* of their vile Purposes. Alas! in Matter of *Law*; by whom should the simple Multitude be directed, if not by *Lawyers*? (as by *Divines*, in points of *Conscience*) Whether is the greater Offender then; that *Ignorant Wretch* that *Draws his Sword* against his *Sovereign*, on the behalf of *Law*, and *Religion*: (as he supposes) Or, Those *Abominable Seducers*, that by *wrested Scriptures, pretended Inspirations*; by *misconstruction of Laws*; *misapplying of Presidents*; *Torturing or Embezelling of Records*, *inveigles the Poor Creature* into a *Good Opinion* of so foul an *Enterprize*? What signifies the event of a *Popular Action*, compared with the deliberate *Contrivance, Allowance, and Direction* of it; more then the effect of some dull *Passive Instrument*, employed by such or such an *Agent*? Or, if a Prince be *Murder'd*; whether's the more to blame, the *Axe*, or the *Executioner*, the *Bullet*, or the *Marks-man*? So much for the *Bench*, now to the *Court*.



## SECT. III.

## THE COURT.

BY the *Court-Interest*, is meant *That Party*, which more *Immediately* depends upon the *Grace* and *Favour* of the *Prince*: and here (as elsewhere) *Seditions* are either *Plotted* or *Occasion'd*.

Touching the *Plotters of Seditions*; Some out of *Avarice*, with *Judas*, Betray their *Masters*. Others, are spurred on by *Ambition*, with *Absalom* to *Supplant* Them. One man is puffed up by *Popularity*; a *Second*, stung with *Envy*; a *Third*, with *Jealousie*; a *Fourth*, Transports himself with *Revenge*, or some other *Personal Animosity*. In fine, These *various Humours*, make but *One Party*; and the *Covetous*, *Ambitious*, &c. — agree in the *same Conspiracy*.

Plotters of  
Sedition.

Of the *Contrivers of Sedition*, some strike directly at the *Governour*; Others, at the *Government*: and a *Third Sort*, by crafty *Circumstances*, and *Windings*, chuse rather to *Mine* the *Regal Authority*, then *Batter* it; and to *work out* a *Prince* by a *skrew*, rather then *force* him by an *Army*.

Are of three  
Sorts.

The *first sort* of *Contrivers* here *Specify'd*, are such as *claym*ing to the *Crown*, *Themselves*; Challenge the *Prince* that wears it, as an *Usurper*: And These, by making a fair *Title* to the *People*, joyn'd with a little *Popular skill* of *Humouring* the *Multi-tude*, may with great ease engage a *Party*, in favour of a *Person* whom they *Love*, against a *Right* which they cannot *understand*.

Usurpers.

Monarchical-  
Ch. 31.

Concerning such as directly oppose the *Form* of *Monarchy*, upon a Principle of *Judgment*; much needs not be said; because they are neither *many*, nor *considerable*: for, to maintain That Paradox, they must overthrow all *Story*, *Sacred*, and *Prophane*; the *Practise* of all *Ages*, and the *Reason* of all *Governments*.

J. suited Puri-  
tans.

A *Third* sort of *Contrivers*, are Those who under fair appearances of *Loyalty*, and *Publickness* of Spirit, Masque their *Sedition* *Intents*, and Drive on a *Particular Interest*. From which kind of evill Instruments, even the *Cabinets*, and *Private Counsels* of Princes are not absolutely Free; and (according to Sir *Francis Bacon*) the hazzard arises, either from an *Over-greatness in one Counsellour*; or, an *Over-strict Combination in Divers*; which are (says he) things soon found and holpen. For *Perspicuity* sake, we'll treat of this Division in *Subsections*.

#### Subsection I.

##### *Over-greatness in one Counsellour.*

THIS *Over-greatness in one Counsellour*, is to be understood *Principally*, in Respect of his *Credit* with his *Master*; and *partly*, in Regard of those great *Offices*, and *Riches* which are commonly heapt upon great *Favourites*, giving them the means of *over-awing* the *Honesty* of their *Inferiours*, and of *ingratiating* themselves with the *People*, at least with so many of them as will be drawn to their Party, either by *Fear*, or *Promotion*.

Where

Where it happens that a *Prince* his Heart is touch'd with the *Magique* of so much Kindness for a Subject, as to make him dangerously *Over-great*: it is not either *Wisdom*, or *Virtue*, that can properly deliver him from That *Charms*, but it must be rather *Time*, and *Experience*, that shall *Dis-enchant* him. Nor is it a *Fault* in a *Prince*, to comply with a *Natural Inclination*; but it is a Barbarous *Ingratitude* in a *Subject* to abuse it, by Endeavouring, (Comparatively) to *Darken the Sun*, with the *sparklings* of a *Refracted light*, shot from his own *Glory*.

Time is the  
best Tryall of  
Fidelity.

In This Case, the Happiness of a Nation depends not absolutely upon the *Prudence* of the *Governour*; but, in some Degree, upon the *Honesty* of the *Favourite*: not altogether upon *Counsell*, but much also upon *Enformation*: nor upon *That* neither, so much concerning the *State* and *Quality* of *Affairs*, as touching the *Fitness* of *Instruments* to *manage* them, and the *Faith*, and *Abilities* of *Persons*. [In vain is it, (says the Profound St. *Alban*) for *Princes* to take *Counsell* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsell* likewise concerning *Persons*.]

The Know-  
ledge of Per-  
sons, is more  
then the Un-  
derstanding of  
Matters.

Is a Kingdom in Danger of *Invasion*, or *Sedition*? To Obviate That Danger by a *Force*, is a *Rational Expedient*. But he that *Armes* his *Enemies* in stead of his *Friends*, *Increaseth* the *Danger*. It were neither safe, nor *Royal*, for a *Prince* to *Walk*, or *Sleep* without a *Watch* about him. But were he not better be *Alone*, then take *Assassins* into his *Guard*, or *Bed-chamber*? In fine, Great is the *Hazzard* of



*Mistaking Persons*; Great is the Crime of the Industrious Authors of such Mistakes; and Great the Infelicity of a Monarch so Mistaking.

The Noblest  
Natures most  
easily Decei-  
ved.

Nay, which is worst of all in This Particular, the *Noblest Dispositions* are the most lyable to be Deceiv'd, and Only *Omniscience*, or *Ill-Nature* can totally Secure a Prince from the *Delusion*. Imagine a *Servant* receiv'd into the Armes of his Master, Crowned with *Honour* and *Bounty*; and in This State of *Favour*, giving advice concerning *Persons* that are meet *strangers* to the Monarch: Who fit, or unfit, for such or such *Employment*; who false, or *Loyall*, &c. How should a Prince suspect a *Subject* under so many *Obligations* to *Fidelity*?

Abuses from  
Great Persons  
hardly Recti-  
fy'd.

Although Abuses of This Kind are in *Themselves* sufficiently *Malicious*, yet are they the more so, by reason of the *Difficulty*, and *Perill* to Rectifie them; for, in many Cases, (as *Sir Francis Bacon*) the *Truth* is hard to know, and not fit to *affix*.

What he must  
do that under-  
takes it.

He that would duly Execute This Office, must first, *Resolve* to feel the weight of a *Potent Adversary*; and Sacrifice his *Hopes*, his *Fortunes*, his *Freedom*, (nay, and perhaps, in Consequence, his *Life*) to his *Duty*.

He must be wary too, that not a Syllable pass from his *Lips*, or *Pen*, which by the utmost force of *Misconstruction*, may seem to glance upon the Monarch: wherein, his *Loyalty* is not lesse concern'd, then his *Discretion*; for tis a fouler Crime *Publicly* to *Defame* a Prince, then *Privately* to *mis-persuade* him. Let him but keep himself to the

Faith,

*Fact*, (as whether This or That be *True*, or *False*, nor meddling with the *Equity*, and *Reason* of the matter) he may with as much *Honour*, and *good-manners*, advertise his Prince of a *Mistake*, as believe that he is *no God*.

The *Application* of This *Over-greatness* is exceeding *various*, nor is the *Grace* it self lesse *Beneficial* to the *Publique*, when *Nobly* Lodg'd, then it is the *Contrary*, when so large a *Bounty* is pour'd into a *Thirsty* and *Narrow* soul. But we are Ty'd in This Place to discourse the *Irregularities* of *Power*, not the blessed *Emprovements* of it.

We might reckon the *Art of Flattery*, among the main *Conducements* to a *Court-Design*: but, That's one of the *Knacks* we *Learn* without a *Teacher*. So *Common* it is, that he that cannot *shift* his *Face*, and *Humour*, 'tis odds, can hardly *shift* his *Linnen*: ( he is so *Poor*, I mean ) In This *Particular*, the *Confidants* of *Princes*, being generally of their *Masters* *Age* and *Inclination*, or thereabout, have great *Advantages*, both for the *Freedom* of *Access*, and *Privacy*: the *Timing* of *Affairs*, and the more *Cleer* *Discovery* of their *Natures*.

How The *aforsaid* *Inconveniencies* may be *holpen*, shall be the *Subject* of the *next* *Chapter*; but to *Discern* them in the *Intention*, falls properly under *Consideration* in This.

To give the better *Guess* at the *Design* of This *Over-great One*, see how he stands *Affected*, first to the *Religion* of the place he *Lives* in. 'Tis possible, the *Confidence* of a *Catholique* *Good*, may over-rule him, to the *Hazard* of a *Good* which he conceives  
lesse

The Art of  
Flattery.

Conscientious  
Sedition.

lesse *Universal*: and some *Light*, may be taken toward This *Discovery*, from the *Observation* of his *Families*; but much more from his *Natural Temper*, and from the *Tenor* of his *Life*. (i. e. if he be *Naturally Melancholique*, and *Scrupulous*) he may be suspected to be *Conscientiously Seditious*.

An Ambitious  
Person.

Is it *Ambition* moves him? Ye shall then find him scattering his *Donatives* among the *Souldiours*. The *Town* has not *Poor* enow for him to *Relieve*, nor *Rich* enow for him to *Oblige*. He Caries his *Hat* in *One* *Hand*, and his *Heart* in the *Other*. Here he Lends a *Smile*, There he Drops a *Nod*: with These *Popular Incantations* bewitching the *Multitude*.

Is the *Good* of the *Subject* the *Question*? Who but He to *Ease* the *People* in *Publique*, of the *Grievances* which himself had *Procured* in *Private*; and in fine, *no man* *sists* to be made a *Judge* in *Israel*. To All This, he must be *Daring* in his *Person*, *Close* in his *Purpose*, *Firm* to his *Dependencies*, and rather *stooping* to the *Ordinary* *People*, then *mixing* with them, hee'll do no good on'r self.

The Test of  
an Honest  
Favourite.

To Proceed; let him be *Watch'd*, how he *Em- ployes* his *Power*, and *Favour*, whether (with *Machiavel*) more to the *Advantage* of his *Master*; or, to his *own* *particular* *Benefits*: and Then, whether (according to the *Lord* *Se. Albans*) he *applies* himself more to his *Master's* *Business*, or to his *Nature*; and rather to *Advise* him, then to *feed* his *Humour*. If he be found to study his *Masters* *Passions*, more then his *Honour*, and to *Prefer* his *Private* *Interest*, to his *Duty*, 'tis an *Ill* sign.

An ill sign.

And

And 'tis no good one, if the *Favourite* grows *Rich*, and the *Prince Poor*: (especially if the *Former* be the Cause of the *Latter*) but it is much a worse, if he Presume to graspe *Authority*, as well as *Treasure*. It looks as if the Suppos'd *Equality* of *Friendship*, had Drown'd the *Order* of *Subjection*. Another as bad.

Take Notice next, of the Proportion betwixt the *means* he uses, and his suspected *ends*.

Note.

Does he Engross the Disposition of all Charges, and Preferments? See in what hands he Places Them. Does he endeavour to Obstruct all Grants of Grace, and Benefit, that passe not through his own fingers? That's Dangerous: for (says Sir Francis Bacon) [When the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Cause, and that there be other Bands that Tie faster, then the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Marque then again what Kind of Persons he Promotes, and for what likely Reasons, whether for Money, or Merit; Honesty, or Faction? Observe likewise the Temper, and Quality of his Complices, and Creatures; and whether his Favours be Bounties, or Purchases. If the Former, Judge of his Design, by his Choyce. If the Latter, 'tis but a Money-Business; which Avarice meeting with an overweening vanity of mind, is many times mistaken for Ambition. In fine; what Ambition does at hand, Corruption does at Length; nor is the Power of the one, more Dangerous, then the Consequence of the Other. Marque again.



## Subsection II.

*The Combination of Divers Counsellours.*

Proceed we now, from the *Greatness of One Counsellour*, to the *Combination of Divers*: which (to vary the Phrase) is no other then a *form'd Confederacy in the Counsel against the Monarch*. Wherein we shall Briefly lay down, *first, the Advantages of the Faction*; the *Methode*, next; and lastly, the *marques of it*.

The Advantages of a Confederacy in Council.

Their *Advantages* are great, and many, in Regard both of their *Privileges*, exempting them from *Question*; of their *Power*, to *Offend their Enemies*, and *Protect their Friends*; and in Consideration of their *Opportunities* to look into *Both hands*, and play *their Cards accordingly*.

Their Method.

In their *Methode* of proceeding, This is their *Master-piece*; not only to do all the *harm* they can, under a colour of *Good*; but to Engage Persons of more *Honesty*, then *Understanding*, in Offices, seemingly *Serviceable*, but *Effectually Pernicious* to the *Publique*: by which *Artifice*, those that are *Friends to the Government*, do unwarily serve the *Crafty Enemies* of it; secretly undermining the *Honour* of the *Prince*, under *Pretext* of *advancing his Profit*; *Lessening* his *Power at Home*, under the *Disguise* of making him more *formidable abroad*; and where they cannot *persuade an Interest*, if it be *Considerable*, they will not stick to *purchase* it.

As



As to the Rest, the *Method*, is rather *easy* to *Invite* and *Countenance* a Sedition, then *openly* to *Head* it; and to *Engage* rather *for* it, then *with* it, till the hazzard of the first onset be over. In Truth, the first *Essay* of a Tumult is but a *Tryall* how the *Ice* will bear; and the *Popular Faction* in the *Counsell*, is more concern'd, in case of a *Disaster*, how to bring their *Friends Off*, then to *Venture* the leading them *On*; --- for *Fear* of One. Whence it comes to passe, that by the *Obligation* of *Encouraging*, and *Preserving* their *Party*, they are *Cast upon* a *Scurvy Necessity* of *Discovering* Themselves.

Rather to  
Countenance  
a Sedition,  
then Head it.

Their *Marques* are many; for They are known by their *Haunts*; by their *Cabales*; by their *Debates*; by their *Domestiques*; by their *Favorites*; and by their maner of *Conversation*, and *Behaviour*.

How to know  
the Faction.

If there be any *Schismatical Teacher* that's *Craftier*, and *Slyer* then the Rest, you may be sure of my *Lord's Coach* at His *Preachment*: It gives a *Reputation* to the *Conventicle*, besides the *Gracious Looks* at *Parsing*, that passe betwixt his *Honour* and the *Brethren*: which *Enterchange*, is but a *secret way* of *Sealing* and *Delivering* a *Conspiracy*.

By their  
Haunts.

Look into their *Cabales*, and ye shall find them all of a *Tribe*, and *Leaven*; *Close*; *Sedulous*; and *United*: Their *dayly Meetings* relishing of a *Design*, as being *Compos'd* rather for *Counsel*, then *Enter-teinment*.

By their Ca-  
bales.

In their *Debates*, you'll know them by their *Pleas*; *Shiftings*; *Delays*; *Extenuations*; *Distinctions*;

By their De-  
bates.

their *Frequent*, and *Industrious* *Obstructions* of *Dispatch* in favour of the *Faction*. By their *Zealous Intercessions* for the *Enemies* of the *Prince*, and their *Coldness* for his *Friends*; by their watchfulness to *Seize* all *Opportunities* of *helping* the *Guilty*, and of *Surprizing* the *Innocent*: by their *Injecting* of *Snares*, and *Scruples*, to *Amuse*, and *Distract* those that are *for* the *Government*, in *Order* to the *Benefit* of such as are *against* it; wherein, it is worth a *Note*, that *they all Vote the same way*, and, with out *Question*, to the *same Purpose*: for they shall sooner *destroy* a *Loyal Subject* upon a *Calumny*, then *punish* a *Traytour Convict*; and *prosecute* one man for *Writing*, or *Saying*, that *it is possible* for a *Prince* to have a *Judas* in his *Counsel*, when another shall *scape* unquesti<sup>o</sup>n'd, or perhaps be *justify'd*, that *calls* his *Sovereign* a *Tyrant*; and *defends* the *Murder* of *Kings*.

By their *Domestiques*.

They may be *gues*s'd at likewise in some measure, by their *Domestiques*: *Espécially*, by those of near *Relation* to *Trust*, *Privacy*, and *Businesse*; as *Chaplains*, *Secretaries*, &c. Not is it enough to have it, like *Master like man*, unless it be, like *Lady like woman* too: for the *pure strein* must run quite *Thorough*, for fear of *Tales out of Schole*, and *Discovering* the *Secrets* of the *Family*. But This Rule is not *Universal*.

By their *Favorites*.

From their *Favorites*, much may be *gather'd*; *first*, from their *Principles*, and *Abilities*. And Then from the *Frequency*, *Privacy*, and *Particularity* of their *Entertaining* them.

The True Composition of a *Confident* fit for such a *Statesman* as we here speak of, is *This*.

He must be *One that knows the Right, and Opposes it*; for there is then lesse Danger of his *Conversion*, and Consequently, of Discovering his *Patron*. Let him be likewise *a man of Sobriety, in his outward appearance*; of *Reputation, with his Party*; and well-grounded in the *Niceties of the Controversie*: he must be also *a Master of his Passions, Peremptory in his mistakes*; and (right or wrong) *never without a Text at hand for his Opinions*.

The Composition of a *Confident* Instrument for a *Corrupt States-man*.

When a Person of *This Character*, repairs often to a *Connseiller of State*, a man may without a *Scandalum Magnatum*, take the *Boldnesse* to suspect his businesse. But if to *Frequency*, be added *Privacy*, it makes the Matter worse; and These Instruments are commonly taken in by *Owl-light*, or at the *Backdore*.

Nor is the *Particularity* they shew to this kind of *Cattell* lesse *Remarquable*. Ye shall see a *Faction Libeller*, or *Schismaticque*, taken into my *Lords Closet*, when a Person of *Honour*, and *Integrity* cools his beels in the *Hall*. One *Lawyer* admitted, that has *Got* just as much by *Betraying* his Country, as *Another*, that is *Rejected* has *Lost* by *Serving* it. Briefly; look through the *Offices* they dispose of, both *Civil*, and *Military*, and in the *Persons* you may see the *Cause* they *Favour*.

Another way of *Detecting* them, is from their *Conversation*, and *Behaviour*. They take up other *Looks*, *Phrase*, *Accent*, *Habit*, *Motion*, *Gesture*,

By their *Conversation* and *Behaviour*.

then their Neighbours. All which Together, are but a Certain *Idiom*, or *Propriety*, of the *Faction*.

Further; ye shall see a *States-man*, on the *Soldain*, grow more Devout in *Publique*, then many an *honest man* is in *Private*; and Start from his *Politiques*, into *Cases of Conscience*. This Affords matter of *Wonder*, if not of *Question*: but observe him; and if he be more *scrupulous* of Obeying the *Law* in some *Cases*, then he is of opposing it in Others, Pronounce him a *fugler*.

So much for the *Contrivers* of *Seditions*.

An honest  
sort of ill Sub-  
jects.

Another sort there are of *Honestest* *ill Subjects*, a People, I mean, that *Hate* the *Sedition* it self, although they *Love* the *Occasion* of it. Then *These*, none make a *Greater Conscience* of *Speaking* *Reverently* of their *Sovereign*; yet none in shew more *Carelesse* what they make *Others Think* of him. *Fiercer* declaimers against *Rebellion*, there are not in the world; but do they *Imagine* that it is no *sin* to *Cause*, what is so horrid an *Impiety* to *Commis*? They'll say perchance, *They do not Cause* it; Yes, yes, there are that do. That is; there are *Insatiable Beggars*, that suck like *Leeches*, till they *Burst*; Asking the very *Bread* out of the *Mouths* of *Famishing Thousands*; only to add unto their *Private Superfluities*, or furnish *Ornament* for *Luxe*, and *Vanity*. Are not these Persons in a high *Degree* *Accountable* for the *Effects* of *That* *Oppression*?

If Those that follow Courts, would but Consider, how many *Snares* beset the Thrones of *Princes*; what *Envy* waits upon their *Trays*; how many *Spyes* upon the Actions of their *Servants*; They would tread warily. This is not yet to Blame all Courts, but where they are *Vicious*, or *Corrupt*; to shew the Desperate Events of those *Disorders*: whereof a *General Poverty* is not the least Considerable; and That inevitably begets a *General Discontentment*.

But what's all This to a Sedition? Shall People *Rebell* because they are *Poor*? No no, they should not; but what if they will do, what they ought not to do? [Let no Prince (sayes the Lord St. Albans) measure the Danger of Discontentments, by This; whether they be Just, or Unjust: for That were to Imagine People to be too Reasonable]. So that the Question is not, whether the Cause can warrant a Commotion; but whether probably it may *Provoke* one? And whether the *Multitude* will not rather *Tumult*, then *Serve*. It is not Here, *Delirant Reges, Plebsuntur Achiwi* — but on the Contrary; *Delirant Achiwi, Plebsuntur Reges*; The Faults of *Servants* are Reveng'd upon the Heads of their *Masters*. But to Reason the Matter orderly, and by Degrees, take it Thus.

All men do naturally Covet *Power*; Partly for their *Security*; and in Part, for *Glory*: not considering, that *what Each Individual desires, All cannot enjoy*; but finding Themselves Plac'd by Nature in a State of *Equality*, they are apt to Believe,

A Caveat to  
COURTIES.

The Politiques.  
of the Vulg.

Believe, that *One* man has as good a Title to Dominion as *Another*, and from this Levelling opinion proceeds that Envy which we find Generally in the Common-People against their Governours.

Upon the same Grounds, they Contend for Liberty, and since they cannot Rule, they would at least be Free from the Restraint of Laws and Impositions. But this must not be, neither.

Why Then, let them but know the Bounds of their Subjection, the Law, by which they are to be Govern'd. Yes, That they may, and when they are once enur'd, and wonted to the soft yolk of Political Order, and Authority; their further Care is chiefly Profit, or Pleasure, and to provide Themselves of such Conveniences, as to man's Life are either Necessary or Delightful, and Here they Rest.

This is the summe of the *Vulgar Politiques*: Allow the People These Private Conveniences, and keep but the Priests, and Lawyers, from Prating to them of Christian Liberty, and Fundamentals; the Generality shall never trouble the State with Seditions: but he that strips them of their little Lively-hood, rifies a Nest of Horpess, From whence ensues This double Mischief: A Great deal of Money is drawn into a few hands; and a Great number of People are left without any at all: Two Hazzards that might pose a wise Prince which rather to submit to.

As a *General Poverty* yields the most desperate matter for *Sedition*, so are the disorders of a *Court* the most likely means to produce a *General Poverty*: and it is done, by *Corruption*, *Begging*, or *Non-Payment of Debts*.

*Corruption* is a great Dreymer; for he that Gives must Take; he that Buys, will Sell. But the influence which *Corruption* has, upon the *Constitution* and *Morals* of a Court, is more Notorious; especially, if it begin *Above*; and in a place where the *Homesetter Part* is the rarer. First, it facilitates the Introducing of a *Faction*; for he that designs to make a *Party*, shall be sure to out-bid him that only offers at an *Office*. Beside that it makes men knaves in their own Defence; after a dear Bargain, to lick themselves whole again: and quenches the most Generous Inclinations, by frustrating the bravest Actions; and conferring Those *Dignities*, and *Preferments* upon unsuitable Persons for *Money*, which are the Proper Rewards of *Virtue*, and *Honour*. In all these Transactions, the Prince is sold into the hands of his Enemies.

### The Effects of Corruption in a Court.

In short; *Corruption* does more Immediately *Court-Beg-*  
*expose* a *Monarch*, and *Embroyle* a *Court*; but *In-* *RC12.*  
*ordinate Begging* does more *Empoverish* and *distress*  
 a *People*: particularly, if the *Request* be *preter-*  
*Legall*, and *pinching*, either upon *Trade*, or *Tillage*:  
 in which cases the *Benefit* of a *single Person* enters  
 into *Competition* with the *Quiet*, and *Security* of  
 a *Nation*.

**Court-Beg-**  
**gers.**

There is an *Evil* yet behind, which of all *Evils*, Non payment of Debts, so trivial in appearance, is (possibly) of the most fa-

9

call,

*tall, and malicious consequence: and That is, the Non-payment of Debts: which not only draws upon a Court the most Violent of all Passions; (Envy, and Hatred) but upon Monarchy it self, a Popular Prejudice.*

'Tis *Dangerous*, in regard both of the *Quality*, and *Number* of their *Creditours*; They are (for the most part) *Citizens*; *Poor*, and *Many*. They lie together in a *Body*; meet *dayly*; *conferring*, and *dispersing* their *Complaints*, and *Clamours*: they *Break* at last, and Then they *Tumult*.

How many *Thousand* Persons are there in *England*, that Live, from Hand to Mouth, only upon the *Trades of Cloth*, and *Ribands*? and 'tis the same, in *Utopia*. To Conclude; *Pay strikes deep*, and takes off, in great measure, That *Odiurn*, and *Envy* which usually attends the *Splendor*, *Pomp*, and *Luxury* of *Courts*. A word now to the *Camp*.

#### SECT. IV.

#### THE CAMP.

The Interests  
of the Souldie-  
ry.

**T**HE Two Grand Interests of the Souldiery, are *Pay*, and *Honour*; that is such *Honour* as belongs to them as *Sword-men*. As for Instance; 'tis their Profession not to put up *Affronts*: They do not love to have their *Under-Officers* rais'd over their *heads*, *New-Modelling*, or *Disbanding* is a Thing they do not like; and a *Publique disgrace* is never to be forgiven.

By



By Ill Order in These Two Particulars, are commonly occasion'd *Mutinies*, and *Revolts*: which become then most perillous when a *disobliged General* has a Purse to Engage a *Discontented Army*. We speak here, of an *Army* Employ'd by a Prince as a Security against his *own Subjects*, which is quite another Case then against a *Foreign Enemy*; for the same *Popular* and *Ambitious Humour*, that in a Commander *Abroad*, is most *Proper*, and *Necessary*, is on the Contrary, as *Dangerous* at *home*. The *safety* of the *State* depending only upon the *Insuperable Virtue*, and *Fidelity* of such a *Person*.

An Ambitious  
Commander  
does better A-  
broad then at  
Home.

Some Armies we have known to Prove Troublesome, and to Divide, upon Pretences of *Religion*; but, a *Holy War* is a *Contradiction*; and a Story only fit to passe upon *Women* and *Children*. Upon the whole, it seems that an *Army*, within it *self*, and without any *Separate Interest*, may be troublesome upon These *Three Accompts*: Either *Want of Pay*; which causes a *General Mutiny*: or *Disgrace*; which (more Peculiarly reflecting upon such or such *Officers*, *Troupes*, or *Parties*) provokes *Animosities*, *Factions*, and *Revolts*: or *Ambition*; which more directly attempts upon the *Sovereignty*. It may be also *Hazardous*, by reason of some *Errour* in the *Constitution* of it. That is, if it be composed of Persons *Ill-affected* to the *Government*, it cannot rationally be expected, that it should labour to *Preserve*, what it wishes to *Destroy*.

A Holy War is  
a Contradiction.

But we are treating of Distempers *acquir'd*, and rather proceeding from the *ill menage* of an Army, then from the first *Mis-choyce*, or founded in the *Judgment* of it. Concerning a *Standing-Army*, enough is said in the foregoing Chapter: a word we'll add; It is in This Regard, an Affair of a *Peevish Quality*; that *either a General has too little Power to do his Master's businessse, or enough to do his own.*

Hazzard not a Rebellion in one Place, for fear of a Sedition in another.

As it is not safe for a Monarch, at any time, to entrust the Chief Officer of an Army, with so much Power, for fear of a *Sedition*, as may enable him to move a *Rebellion*: so is it a work of great *Skill*, and *Difficulty*, so dexterously to *Resume*, or *Balance* that *over-grown Power*, as to bring it under *Command*, without discovering such a *Jealousie*, as may Provoke him to *abuse* it. Let This suffice, as to the Disorders of an Army *within it self*.

Another Hazzard is, lest it be *Corrupted* into a Dependence, upon some other Interest, into which Defection, it may be partly Driven by the *Neglect*, or *Unkindnesse* of the *Prince*, and partly Drawn by the *Allurements of Profit*, and *Reward*.

Having spoken of the Mischief a *Seditious Army* may *Do*; very Briefly let us behold what mischiefes a *Vicious*, and *undisciplin'd Army* may *Cause*.

There never fails to be an Opposition betwixt the *Civill*, and the *Military Power*; and in like maner betwixt the *People*, and the *Souldiery*. Whom nothing else can Reconcile but downright *Force*, and *Necessity*.

*ceſſity*. So that the faireſt State of a Nation over-aw'd, by an Army of their own Countrymen, is an *extorted Paſſience*, accompany'd with a Readineſſe to embrace any opportunity of working their Deliverance.

If at the beſt, the bare *appearance* of a Force be ſo Generally diſtaſtful; what Havock will not the Licentious *abuse* of it Cauſe in a *Kingdom*? Eſpecially in Populous Towns where *One Affront* Exaſperates a *Million*, and 'tis not two hours work, to deſtroy an Army.

A *Royall Guard* is of another *Quality*; and ſuch it ought to be for *Choice* and *Number* as both ſuitable to the Charge they undertake, for the *Safety* of That Sacred Perſon, and ſufficient to the *Execution* of it. The Conſtitution of a Guard Royall.

## SECT. V.

## THE CITY.

BY the *City*, we intend the *Metropolis* of a Kingdom; which in many Reſpects, challenges a Place and Conſideration in This Chapter of *Seditions*; Particularly, in Regard of *Inclination* and *Power*.

There is not (Generally ſpeaking) ſo fair an Intelligence betwixt the *Court*, and *City*, as for the Common Good of Both were to be wiſh'd: and This proceeds Chiefly from a *Pride of Blood*, on the *One* ſide, and of *Wealth*, on the *Other*; breeding a *mutual Envy* between them. Court and City ſeldom agree. The Reaſon of it.

This *Envy*, by degrees, boyles up to an *Animosity*, and Then, Tales are Carryed to the *Monarch*, of the *insolence* of the *Citizens*; and Stories, on the other side, to the *People*, of the *Height*, and *Excesses* of the *Court*: and Here's the *Embryo* of a *Sedition*. From Hence, each Party enters into a *Crosse Contrivement*. These, how to tame the *Bolanes* of the *One*; and Those, how to supplant the *Greatnesse* of the *Other*: Both equally unmindful of their *Inseparable Concerns*: the *Citizen*, that he holds his *Charter* of the *Bounty* of his *Prince*; and the *Courtier*, that it is a *flourishing Trade* that makes a *Flourishing Empire*. By These Heats, is a *City-Humour* against the *Court*, improv'd into a *Popular Distemper* against the *King*: and here's the *Inclination* of a *Disorder'd City*.

The Power of  
a City.

As to their *Power*; they have *Men*, *Money*, and *Armes*, at an *houre's* warning; the very *Readynesse* of which *Provision* makes it worth *double* the *Proportion*. Their *Correspondencies* are Commonly *strong*, and *Firme*; and their *dependencies* *Numerous*: for the *Pretense*, being *Trade*, and *Liberty*, hooks in all *Places* of the *same Interest*, to the *same Faction*: Beside That *General device*, (*seeming Religion*) that *stamps* the *Cause*, and Prints a *GOD WITH US* upon it. In fine; a *Potent*, and a *Peevish City* is a *shrew'd Enemy*.

Now to the *Maner* of *Actuating* Those *Seditious Inclinations*, and *Improving* These *Abilities* to do *Mischief*.

The Maner of  
Preparing the  
People for Se-  
dition.

Their first work is to Possesse the *Vulgar* with This Notion, that in some Cases the *Monarch* is li-  
mited,

mitted, and the *Subject free*: intending, that the *Prince* is bounded by the *Law*, and that the *People* are at *Liberty*, where the *Law* is silent; and so likewise in points of *Conscience*. (by which Argument, the *People* Govern, where there is *no expresse Law*, and the *King* only where there is.)

Taking it once for Granted, that the *Prince* is Limited by the *Law*; (which *Conscientiously* he is; for in observing the *Law*, he does but keep his own word) They presently Conclude, that if the *King* transgresses the Rule of his *Power*, he forfeits the *Right* of it: and that for such a *Violation*, he is accomptable to the *People*, for whose Behoofe the *Law* was made. This is a *Specious*, but a *Poysonous Inference*, and rather adapted to a *Mutinous Interest*, then to a *Peaceable*, and *candid Reason*.

Let a *Transgression* be supposed; are there any *Laws Panal* upon the *Monarch*? But there are none that warrant *Tyranny*. Right; but there are some yet that forbid *Rebellion*; and (without questioning the Cause) that declare all *Violences whatsoever*, upon the *Person*, or *Authority* of the *King*, to be *Crimina Læsa Majestatis*, or *Treason*. Are there any *Laws* now on the *Other* side, that depose *Kings* for *Mal-administration*? If none, the *Law* being Peremptorily against the *One*, and only not for the *Other*: what does it, but constitute the *Subject*, in all cases, accomptable for his *Resistance*, to the *Sovereign*; and Leave the *Supreme Magistrate*, in all cases, to answer for his *Mis-government* to *Almighty God*? But let the *Controversie* passe, for we

A Seditious  
Principle.

The King only  
Accomptable to  
God, and the  
People to the  
King.

are

are not here so much to enter into the True State Matters, as to deliver their *Appearances*.

Curled be the  
Sons of them.

And now is the time to bring the *Faylings*, and *Mis-fortunes* of the *Prince* upon the Stage; and by exposing him *Naked* before the *Multitude*, to make his *Person Cheap*, and his *Government Odious* to his *People*. Which they Effect, by certain Oblique Discourses from the *Presse*, and *Pulpit*; by Lamentable *Petitions*, craving Deliverance from such and such Distresses of *Estate*, or *Conscience*: and These they *Print*, and *Publish*; converting their (pretended) *supplications* for *Relief*, into bitter *Remonstrances* of the *Cruelty* and *Injustice* of their *Rulers*.

By These wiles, are the Vulgar drawn to a *dislike* of *Monarchy*; and That's the *Quene* to a *discourse* of the Advantages of a *Popular Government*. (the next step to the *Design* of introducing it) *There's none of This or That* they cry) at *Amsterdam*: — and in short; from these *Grudgings* of *Mutiny*; These *Grumbings* against *Authority*, they slide Insensibly into direct, and open *Practices* against it. Alas! what are These *Motions*, but the *sparkling* of a *Popular Disposition*, now in the *Act* of *Kindling*; which only wants a little *Blowing of the Cole*, to Puff up all into a *Flame*?

From the *Leading*, and *Preparatory Motives* to *Sedition*, now to the more *Immediate* and *Enflaming Causes* of it: which are reducible either to *Religion*, *Oppression*, *Privileges*, or *Poverty*.

Those Seditions which concern Religion, either to Doctrine, or Discipline, or Hierarchy, or Schism. The former, is a Strife (as they say) for a better, or a worse; a Contest between the Persuasion of the People, and the Religion of the Government, in matter of Faith, and tending either to overthrow the One, or to Establish the Other. In This Case, the People, may be in the Right, as to the Opinion, but never so as to justify the Practice, for Christianity does not dissolve the Order of Society. To Obey God, rather than Man, is Well, Let us obey him then; In Not Resisting Those Powers, to which his Ordinance hath Subjected us.

Touching This, (with the Brethren's Leave) I take it to be the more Venial-Mortal Sin of the Two. That is; the Rebellion of Hierarchy, is less unpardonable, than That of Schism: in regard first, that the Subject of the Difference is a matter of greater Importance. Secondly, 'tis not Impossible, but the Persuasion may be founded upon Inevincible Ignorance — I do not say that I had rather be an Arrian, than a Calvinist; but I avow, that he is the foulest Rebel, that for the Slightest Cause, upon the Least Provocation, and against the clearest Light, Murders his Sovereign.

R

Those

Seditions arising from Schisme.

Those *Seditions*, which are mov'd upon accompt of *Schisme*, are commonly a combination of *Many* against *One*; of *Error* against *Truth*: and a Design, that strikes as well at the *Civill Power*, as the *Ecclesiastick*.

The Means of provoking Sedition.

This being a Subject which both in the *first Section* of This Chapter, and *Else-where*, is sufficiently discours'd upon; we shall rather addresse our selves to the *Means* (Peculiar to a *City*) of *conspiring*, and *aiding* these *unquiet agitations*, as more properly the *Business* of our present Argument.

The Advantages of Great Towns for Seditions.

*Great Towns* have first the Advantage of *great Numbers of People*, within a *Small Compass* of *Place*; where, with much *Ease*, and *Privacy*; Those of the *Faction* may hold their *full*, and *frequent Meetings*; *Debate*, *Conspire*, nay, and *Execute*, with all *Convenience*. For when the *Plot* is *Laid*; the *Maker*, and the *Time* Appointed: there's no more trouble for the *Renderers*; the *Party's* *Lead* is already, the *Town* it self being the most *Commodious Quarter*. 'Tis in respect of These favourable *conspiracies*, that men of *Turbulent*, and *Faction* *Spirits*, rather make choice of *Populous Cities* to *Practise* in.

Another *Hazzard* may arise from the *Temper* of the *Inhabitants*; as well, as from the *Condition* of the *Place*; and from the very *Humour*, and application of the *Women*, in a notion distinct from That of the *Men*.

From



From the Temper of the Inhabitants; first, as Cities are inclinable to Seditions, from the Temper of the Inhabitants; whom we find very often, both Famous for Trade, and Notorious for Schism. (But Men are generally so good-Natur'd, as to think well of any Religion they Thrive under.)

Further; their Employment being Traffick, or Negotiating for Benefit; and their Profession being to Buy as Cheap as they can, and to Sell, as Dear: without any measure between the Risque, or Disbarment; and the Profit: they are commonly better Accomplish'd, than Casuists; and will rather stretch their Religion to their Interest, than shrink their Interest to their Religion.

They have again, so superstitious a Veneration for the Justice of Paying Money upon the Expiry of a Hour; that they can very hardly believe any man to be of the right Religion, that breaks his Day. And observe it, let a Prince run himself deep in Debt, to his Imperial City, they shall not so much Clamour at him for an ill Pay-Master, as upon a Fir of Holiness, suspect him for an Heretique, or Idolater: Proposing a Tumult, as the ready way to Pay themselves; and That I reckon as the first step into a Rebellion.

Now, how The *Womans* come to be concern'd; That first; and Then, why the *City-Dames* more than *Gibber*?

It is the Policy of all Cunning Innovators, when they would put a Trick upon the world in  
R 2 matter

Religious In-  
novations be-  
gin with Wo-  
men.

to expand art  
distant art  
since

matter of Religion, which they desire may be *Recall'd* with *Patience*, recommended with *Zeal*, and *Dis-posed* with *Diligence*, to begin (with the *stronger Sex*, though the *weaker* *Passion*) that excellent *Creature*; *Woman*. And This Course they take, out of These Considerations.

Four Reasons  
why.

1.

*First*, as *That Sex* is Naturally *scrupulous*, and *Adapted* to *Devotion*; and so, more suscep-  
tible of *delusive Impressions*, that bear a face of *Piety*.

2.

*Secondly*, as it is too *Innocent*, to suspect a *De-  
ceive*, and too *Obedient*, to *Examine* it; so is it pro-  
bably not *easy* enough to *Discover* it.

3.

*Thirdly*; *Women* are supposed, not only to *Enter-  
tain* what they *Like*, with more *Earnestness* of *Af-  
fection*; but also to *impart* what they *know*, with  
a *Greater Freedom* of *Communication*, which proceeds  
from a *Particular propensity* in *That Gracious Sex*, to  
*enter into a spirit* *Intelligence*, concerning *Matters*  
*Curious*, and *Novel*.

4.

A Zealous Si-  
ster.

*Fourthly*, They are as well the *Best Advocates*,  
as the *Best Publishers*. Get them but once en-  
gaged, and at next word all their *Children* are  
to be taught *Shorthand*, and new *Catechisms*; the  
*Table* shall be *bliss* in a *Tune*; not the *Heel* of a  
*Lark*; no, not so much as a *Prune* in the *White-  
Broth*, shall scape without a *Particular Benediction*.

And her Con-  
fession.

And *Then*, the *Wrought Cushion*; the *Damask Nap-  
kin*; the *Best Room*; and the *First Seat* at the *Table*,  
are reserved for the *Adored Genius* of the *Family*.  
The *Good-will* of the *House*, shall not presume to  
*Close his Eyes*, without an *Opinion*, (to make it *English*)

according to the *Directory*; and when he opens them again, next day, 'tis odds, he finds his wakeful *Bedfellow* Shifting her Linnen, and Preparing for a *Mornings Exercise*. This Reverend *Wight* has commonly some Skill in *Physique* too; enough to Comfort a *Professing Sister*, that Keeps her Bed, (for grief no doubt) because her Lord (perhaps) is call'd aside by *State*, or *Business*.

Not does The *Pious Matron* Confine her Bounteous *Dispensations* within the Circle of her *Private Family*; but with an *Over-flowing Charity*, reaches a helping hand to all the *Members* of the *Distressed Brother-hood*; and (like a *Christian* to the very *Letter*) *Lays every thing in Common*. These are the *Early* and *Late Advocates*; the warm *Sollicitresses*; What *Husband* would not *Glory* to see his *Wife*, and *Fortune* so dispos'd of?

Let not some few *Mistakes* persuade the world yet, that *Woman* is [not] of all *Creatures*, the most accomplish'd, and the best dispos'd to the End she was made for.

That *Women* are (in *General*) the *fittest Agents* of all *Others*, for a *Religious Errour*, to me seems past a *Question*: Now; why a *City-Dame*, is for That *Purpose*, the *fittest Instrument* even of all *Sorts of Women*?

First, her *Employment's* Little; she keeps much at *Home*; and her dead *Leisures*, are, beyond doubt, not absolutely *Thoughtless*. Is not her *Mixture* *variable*, as That of other *Mortals*? Plainly her *Solitary Enterteynement* now. Does not she

with to see, and to be seen, as well as other Women? Nay, does she not contrive too, how to compass it? Playes there are none perhaps, at hand; Festivals come but seldome.

While shee's Thus casting, *How and How*; in Steps the Tempter; dreams out an Hour or Two in Prologue, and at last, happily hits her Humour; asks her, *what Church she goes to?* and invites her to a Lecture. Away she goes; enters her self a Member of his Congregation; never to be Reclaimed, and so Farewell she, *Look to your Wives, my Masters; and Remember BAGSHAW.*

A Shee-Pro-  
felyte.

After all This, let me profess, I take the better sort of Citizens, for an Intelligent, Frank, and Sober People; nor do I find more Prudence, Modesty, Virtue, then under That Denomination. Yet is it not to be Expected, that so Vast a Multitude should be without some Loose Examples; and I divide the Blame, even *Thers* too, betwixt an Idle Course of Life, and the Alluring Artifice of their Seducers. But this I stick to: *A Schismatical Clergy infects the Women; They, the City; and a Schismatical City destroyes a Kingdom.*



### Subsection II.

#### Oppression.

Oppression provokes Sedition, many wayes; and many wayes it is Procur'd, even by the most Seditious Themselves; with Express end, that it may provoke Sedition.

The

The Haughty, and Imperious Rudeness of a *Charlish Officer*, that without either *Proof*, or *Hearing*, *Law*, or *Reason*, hand over head *Condemnes* and *Punishes*: (only perchance to Vaunt his *Power*,) This is a *Poldness*, that *Reflects* upon the *Safety* and the *Honour* of his *Master*; rendring both the *Minister* *bated*, and the *Prince* *suspected*. Oppression  
causes Sedition.

*Unlimited Protections*, *Irregular* and *Heavy Taxes*, *Billetting* and *Free-quartering* of *Souldiours*; The *Denyall* of *Equal Right*, &c. — Stir up *Seditious Humours* in a *City*. But These are *down-right Provocations*.

There are that go a cleanlyer way to work, that *squeezes* the *People*, under *Colour* of *erving* the *King*; winding up the *Pin* of *Authority*, till they *Crack* the very *strings*, by which *That*, and *Subjection* are *tack'd* together. They *undo* all, by *over-doing*, and under an humble shew of *holding* the *Stirrup*, till the *Prince* *seats* himself, they *draw* so hard they *turn* the *Saddle*: or if he needs a *Lift* to help him *Up*, they'll *give* him one, but such a One, shall cast him *Over*. A Presbyterian  
Trick.

In fine; what ever may be *Plausible* for the *present*; *fatal* in the *Consequence*; wherein the *Promoters* may either seem *Innocent*, or *not appear* at all; and a *Publique Obligay* rest upon the *Sovereign*; This is a *Device* to do Their *Business*. The Politique  
Hypocrite.

Is there any *Colourable fear* of a *Sedition*? Their *Counsell* will be then, to raise such a *Force*, as in all likely-hood will cause a *Rebellion*. Are the *Prince* his *Coffers* full? *Occasions* will be sought

to

to Empty Them; by *Breaking with One Interest, wedding Another*. A Thousand Remedies there are for That *Sur-charge of Treasure*. When they have drawn the Monarch dry, they know he must be *supply'd*; and they know what a *Peevish task* it is, to fix *Regality* upon a *new Bottom*.

As their first Aime was to *Provoke Expence*, that he might *Want*; it will be now Their work, in such manner to *solicite his Supply*, that he shall *suffer more* by the ill *Methode* of it, then *Gain* by the *Recruit*. Briefly, if they can Effect, that what *Themselves* call a *Supply*, the *Generality* may understand to be an *Oppression* (and so They wish it *Understood*) The *City Clamours* first; and *Popular Tumults*, are but the *Forlorn* to a *Rebellion*.

Loyalty is Indispensable.

Not that either *Force*, or *Crueity*, can ever discharge a *Subject* of his *Allegiance*. Nay, should his Prince command one of his Armies for *Dog-meat*; he were a *Traitor*, should he yet *refuse to serve his Master with the other*.

### Subjection III.

#### Privileges.

Citizens are Tender of their Privileges.

A Third Particular of no small Force upon the *Genius* of a *City*, is what concerns their *Privileges*; whereof they Principally are *Tender*. First, in points of *Trade*, and *Commerce*: Secondly, in Affairs of *Order*, and *Custom*, relating to the *Counsell*, and *Government* of the *City*: Thirdly, in Matters of *Personal Freedom*, and *Advantage*.

Any

Any Empeachment in the Point of Trade, they Principally in  
take heynously, as Disappointing at once, the very point of Trade.  
Purpose of their Incorporations, the Hopes of their  
Well-being, and the main Business of their Lives.  
In This Respect, they are many times so Delicate,  
as not to distinguish between Benefits of Grace,  
and Rights of Privilege, claiming a Title to  
Those Advantages which they hold only by Fa-  
vour.

They are likewise Subject to forget, that even Their immuni-  
ties are Preca-  
their clearest Immunities are but Dependents, and  
Precarious: and they had need be minded, that to  
believe them other, is to Forfeit them. For it implies  
a Disacknowledgment of the Sovereign Power;  
which Mistake being once set afoot, obliges the  
Prince to Resume, for the Safety of the whole, such  
Indulgences as were only Granted for the behoof of  
a Part. To This he is Ty'd by evident Reason of  
State, and by Political Equity, both as a Wise  
Prince, and as a Pater Patria, a Father of his Coun-  
try. Wherefore away with These Dividing Ne-  
cessities, since neither Prince, nor People can be Secure,  
but by Agreement. What can a Single Person do  
without the Obedience, Love, and Service of his  
People? Or what becomes of a Distracted State/  
inde, without a Head to Govern Their Confusions?  
But This (in the words of a most Ingenious Person)  
is a Text upon which the Wise part of the world has  
used in vain to preach to the Fools, and so it is to  
Since so it is, that the People will neither be  
Taught by Experience, nor persuaded by Reason, we



are to take for Granted, that some *Grievances* lead to *Seditions*, almost as *Orderly*, as *Natural Causes* to their *Effects*, the Multitude ever siding with *Interest*, against *Virtue*.



The *Liberty* of *Exporting* *Native Commodities* raw, and unwrought; and of *Importing* (possibly) the same *Materials* in *Manufacture*, is a Matter of *Evil Relish*, and of *Dangerous Consequence*. So likewise is the *Employment* of *Strangers*, where the *Natives* want *Work*; and the *advancing* of *Foreign Trade*, to the *Serving* of it at home.

Concerning the *Other Two Particulars*, before mentioned, the *One* Relating to the *Frame* of a *City-Government*, the *Other*, to their *Personal Privileges*; it shall suffice to *Note*, that an *Encroachment* upon either of them, *Endangers a Sedition*.

#### Subsection IV.

#### Poverty.

Poverty an Irresistible Incentive to Sedition.

THE *Last*, and the most *Irresistible* incentive to *Sedition* in a *City*, is *Poverty*. That is, a *Poverty* proceeding from *Misgovernment*. Not but that *Want*, upon what account soever is bad enough: Whether from *Dearth*, *Losses by Fire*, or *Storms*; *Piracies*, *Banquetraps*; the *Ravages of War*, &c.--- Yet *Here*, there's something in the *Fate*, the *Accident*, or *Manner*, of the *Calamity*, to allay the *Anguish* of it. Men *Quarrel* not with *Providence* for ill *Seasons*; nor with the *Winds*, the *Waves*, or *Flames*, because of *Wracks*, or *Conflagrations*. To suffer

by



by *Pirates*, or *Banquerupts*, is but the *Chance of Traf-  
fique*; and the *Extremities of War* are *Common  
Injuries*. But where a *Pinching Poverty* Seizes a *Populous City*, and from a *Cause* too that's within  
the Reach of *Malice*, or *Revenge*; That State's con-  
cern'd betimes to look to the Disorder.

The most Dan-  
gerous Poverty.

The *Immediate Cause* of This *Necessity* among the  
Common sort is *want of Work*, which proceeds from  
*the decay of Trade*; arising chiefly from a *General  
Scarcity of Money*; which may be Imputed to *One or  
more*, of These *Enfuing Reasons*.

First, *The Insatiate Corruption of Rapacious, and  
Great Officers*; in whose *Coffers*, as in the *Grave*,  
*Monyes* are rather *Buried*, then *laid up*. Nay, as in  
*Hell* it self (I might have said) for they are as *Bot-  
tomlesse*; and of the *Treasure* that lies *There Con-  
demn'd*, the *Doom's* almost as *Irreversible*. 'Tis as  
the *Fox* Observ'd to the \* *Agroting Lion*

Corruption the  
Cause of Scar-  
city.

Me Vestigia terrent;  
*Omnia te Adversum spectantia, Nulla Retrosum.*

\* A word us'd  
in Westminster  
Schoole, when  
a Boy Counter-  
feits Sick.

*I can Trace Many, Forward, but None Back.*

These *Private Hoards* cannot chuse but produce a *Private Hoards  
Publicque Pennury*, when That *Wealth*, which would  
suffice to *Employ*, and *Relieve Thousands*, that either  
*Beg* for want of *Work*; or *Serve* for want of  
*Bread*; is drawn into so narrow a *Compass*. And  
yet in This suppos'd *Extremity* of *Affaires*, I make a  
*Doubt*, whether is more *Miserable*, the *Needy*, or  
the *Oppressour*?

Private Hoards  
breed Publicque  
Pennury.

The Composition  
of Wicked  
Ministers of  
State.

The Misery of  
them.

If either they  
look Back ;

Forward ;

Round about ;

Can any Composition more certainly destroy a Nation, than a Concurrence of *Pride*, *Pride*, *Avarice*, and *Injustice*, in the same Persons ? But Then again, when the *Storm* comes, These are the *Fonasses*, that by the *Rabble* will be first cast *Over-board*, to save the *Vessel*. And This they cannot but *forsink*, and *Tremble* at ; at least, if ever they get *Leisure* for a *Sober Thought*. And let them Look which way they Please ; *Backward*, *Forward*, *Round about*, *Upward*, *Downward*, *Inward*, they are beset with Objects of *Terror*, and *self-af-frighted*, from the *Glasse* of their own *Consci-ences*.

Behind them, they see dreadful *Presidents* of *Cor-rupt Ministers*, thrown from their *Slippery* ; and *ill-managed State of Greatness*. Turne by their *Enem-ies* ; scarce *Pity* by their *Friends* ; the *Mirib* of their own *Greatness*, and the meet *Mockery* of Those that *Ray's* d them.

Forward, they find Themselves upon a *Precipice*, and in great hazzard to encrease the *Number* of those *Sad Presidents*.

If they look *Round about* them, they are *En-compass'd* with the *Cries* of *Widows*, and of *Orphans* ; whose *Husbands*, or whose *Fathers*, lost their *Lives*, in the *Defence* (perhaps) of their *Prince*, and *Country*. With These, are *Mingled* the *Faint Groans* of *Ster-ving Wretches* in their *Last Agonies*, whose *Mo-desty* chose rather to *Dia filens*, than *Complaining* ; and to abide the worst *Effects* of *Wars*, rather than tell the more *Intolerable Story* of it. But This to Them,

is not so much, as to perceive Themselves at Bay amidst a *Sparkling Multitude*.

In short; *Above them*, there's an *All-seeing Eye*, Above them; an *Unchangeable Decree*, and an *Incorruptible Judge*, that *Over-looks*, and *Threatens Them*. *Below them*, Below; or within them. *Hell*: (or rather 'tis *Within Them*), an *Accusing Conscience*) If *This* be their *Prospect*, how *Deplorable* is their *Condition*!

Are not Their *Pillows* stuff'd with *Thornes*? Or when they *Venture* at a *Nap*, do they not *Dream* of *Robberies*, and *Seditions*? *Whom*, or *What* do they not *fear*? *Where* is't they think Themselves *Secure*? Is not Their *Table* Spread with *Snares*? Does not Every *Bribe* look like a *Bait*; Every *Servant*, like a *Spy*; Every *Strange Face*, like somewhat that's *worse*? And what are their *Near Friends*, but either *Conscious Partakers*, or *Dangerous*, and *Suspected Witnesses*? They find Themselves *Ar-aign'd* by the *Preacher*; *Condemn'd* by the *Judge*; and *Strangled* by the *Executioner*: For being *Guilty* of the *Crime*, and *Worthy* of the *Punishment*, They cannot but *Apply* the *Process* to Themselves, and in *Imagination*, bear the *Malefactor's Company*, even: from the *Pulpit*, to the *Gibbet*. The Sollicitous glare of the Guilty.

Add to all This, the *Sting* of an *Incessant*, *Rest-lesse Jealousie*. Not a *Look*, *Whisper*, *Hint*, or *Action*, but they suspect Themselves the *Subject* of it. The *Holy Text* it self, where it *Reproves Their Sins*, sounds like a *Lihell* to Them. Nay, were This silly *Innocent Description* of them, but in a *Tongue* which any man *Concern'd* could understand; *some of Their Ears* would *Tingle* at it.

Taxes may  
cause, or occa-  
sion a Scarcity  
divers wayes.

*A General Scarcity of Many, may, in the Second Place, arise from Taxes, and That either Immediately, in Respect of the Burthen; or Consequentially, in respect of the Occasion; the Inequality; the Manner of Imposing, or Levying Them; or the Subject Matter it self of the Tax.*

Touching the *Burthen*, and *Occasion*; It Properly belongs to Those in *Power* to Judge of it, as well *how much*, as *to what end*? So in the *Rest*, The *People* are likewise to Subject Themselves to such Determinations as their *Superiours* hold Convenient, Only in case of an *Undue Authority Imposing*, or some *Illegal Course of Levying Taxes*, there may be some *Allowances*; which to proportion to their Various Instances, is neither for This Place, nor for my Meaning.

Subjects are to  
Obey. without  
Disputing.

That *Subjects* are to Obey Lawful Commands, without *disputing* the Reasons of Them, is beyond Question. Yet is't not in the Power of Humane Nature, to keep men from *Surmising*, and from *Guessing* at them. Wee'll Grant ye too, that in *some Cases*, *some People*, will in *some Sorts*, do *some Things* as they ought to do. Yet we are where we were; that is, they will be *Guessing* still.

If Taxes follow *quicker*, and run *higher* then Ordinary; and This too, when a Nation's *Poor already*; that 'tis the way to make it *Poorer*, I think's no *Secret*: for sure, the *More* men *part* with, the *Less* they have *Remaining*. At first, *Good God!* they cry: *so much?* and the next *Question's*, *Why?* ('Tis true, they should not *Aske*, but who can hinder them?)



Is it for the *Honor* or *Safety* of the *Prince*? 'Tis  
Consequently for the *Publique Good*; and he deserves  
to be expell'd *Humane Society*, that narrowly prefers  
his *Little dirty Interest*, before so *Sacred*, and so *great*  
a *Benefit*.

But are *These Levies* to be so *Employ'd*? Who  
*Gathers*? Who *Receives*? or, Who *Disposes* of  
them? Are they not *Shar'd*, or at least so *Reduc'd*  
by *Private hands*; that not a *Twenty's Penny* goes  
to the *Publique*? Are they not for some other *Pur-  
pose*? (no matter *what*.) All This is Nothing to the  
*Subjects Right*, either of *Enquiry*, or *Refusal*. Yet  
*These Miscariages* of the *Common Treasure* make  
People *wary*, and provide betimes for fear of  
*Troubles*. Some *Call In* Their *Monyes*; others will  
*Let none out*: a *Third* sort, (that dare not stand the  
Change they fear,) dispose of *Theirs Abroad*; and  
This may passe for another *Cause* of a *General Scar-  
city* of *Money*.

A *Third*, is the *Inequality* of *Taxes*; the *Over-  
pressing* of any *One Party*. As if the *Burthen* lies  
heavier upon the *City*, then *Country*; upon the *Gen-  
try*, then *Yeomanry*, &c. --- If upon the *City*, they  
call it *Spite*, if upon the *Country*, *Oppression*. And in  
fine; fall the *Disproportion* where it fall can, it  
breeds ill blood: for That *Weight* breaks the *Back*  
of any *One Interest*, which *evenly dispos'd*, would  
seem no heavy *Load*, upon the *Shoulders* of *All*.  
*Ferre quam sortem patiuntur Omnes, Nemo recusat.*  
The Consequence of This *Inequality*, is a *Gene-  
ral Ruine*, but *piece-meal*, and *One Part* after  
*Another*.

Touching

Touching the Maner of *Imposing*, or *Devising*, we waive That; and passe to the Subject *Manner* of the *Tax*. (A point (how little soever regarded) scarce lesse Considerable then the *Totall Amount* of it.)

Note.

If the *Device* be *Novell*; the *People* shy and ticklish: if there be *Fashions* Stirring, and the Prince not absolutely *Master*, better raise Thrice the Value in the *Rate* of *Levyes*, then hazard the Experiment of a *By-way*. 'Tis *Machiavell's* advice concerning *Sanguinary Cruelties*; where *Cruelty* is *Necessary*, do it *at once*; or at least, *seldome* as possible. But then be sure to *follow* it with *Frequent Acts* of *Clemency*; by which Means, you shall be *fear'd* for your *Resolution*, and *belov'd* for your *Good-Nature*: whereas a *Little*, and *Often*, *Terrifies Lesse*, and *Disquiets* people much *more*, imprinting Jealousies of *further Inconveniences*; so that they know not what to *Trust* to.

Most Certain it is, that as *Many petty Injuries* deface the *Impression* of *One Great Benefit*; so in like maner do *Many slight Benefits* deface the *Impression* of *One Great Injury*; the *Last Act* sinking deepest. For 'tis from Thence, Men Measure their expectation of the *Future*; and as they look for *Good*, or *Bad*, they are *Fearable* or *Troublesome*.

Leave no  
Marque stand-  
ing to re-  
member a Dis-  
courteise by.

Wherefore, as it is *Duty* to do *Well* *always*, so 'tis *Wisdom* to do *Well* *Last*; and where a *Pressure* cannot be avoided, not to leave standing (so near as may be) any *Memorial* of it: Least *When your Children shall ask their Father in time to come, saying, What mean you by these Stones? &c.* ----

Josh. 4. 6.

The

The *ways* of *Supplying* Princes are *Various*, according to their *Several Interests, Practices, Powers, and Constitutions*. Not to lose my self in *Particulars*, One *General* shall serve for all.

It behoves a State to be very wary, how they Relieve a *Present need* upon the *Foundation* of a *Lasting Inconvenience* for though in some *Extremities*, there is no *Choyce*; yet it very rarely happens, that a Prince is the *Better* for the *Mony*, where he is the *worse* for the *Presidents*. Sir Thomas Rowe in a Speech at the *Counsell-Table*, 1640, (directed to the dashing of a Project, tending to the *Enfeebling* of the *Quoyne* (as he Phrases it) Cites the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, and Sir Thomas *Smith*, giving Their Opinion to Queen *Elizabeth*; in These words: *That it was not the short end of Wits, nor starting holes of Devices, that can susteyn the expence of a Monarchy, but sound and solid courses.* Horace his [*Rem facias, Rem,— Si possis, Recte, si non, quocunque modo Rem*] will not serve the turn.

'Tis sharply said of Sir Francis Bacon; [That the *Wisdom* of all These *Latter Times* in *Princes Affaires*, is rather *fine Deliveries*, and *Shiftings* of *Dangers* and *Mischiefs*, when they are near; than *solid and grounded Courses* to keep them aloof] (but sayes he again) [*It is the Solacism* of *Power*, to think to *Command* the *End*, and yet not to endure the *Mean*.] These are the *Steights*, the *Ill-husbandry* of *Government*; through which mistakes, insensibly, a *Great Revenue* moulders away, and yet the State never out of *Debt*.

Shifting passes  
for Wisdom.



Excessive  
Building.

*Excessive Building* is another Cause of *General Scarcity*; for it leaves the *Country* too *Thin*, and *over-people*s the *City*: *Enhancing* the *Rate*, and *consuming* the *Meanes* of *Living*. It *wasts* the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; It *Empoverishes* also, and *Disoblige*s the *Populacy*: (All that is *got* in the *Country*, being *spent* in the *City*) beside the *Hazzardous disproportion*, betwixt the *Head* and the *Body*.

One Reason of This *Scarcity*, may be from some Defect in the *Law* it self: as where sufficient *Provision* is not made for *strict*, and *Peremptory* *payment* upon *Bond*. Men will not *part* freely with their *Money*, where they may be put off by *Shifts* and *Delays*, and driven to a *Vexatious Suit* to get it *In* again.

Another great *Inconvenience* proceeds from a *General Grasping* at more *Trade* then they can *Master*: which causes many *Faylings* one upon the *Neck* of another.

Knavery of  
Tradesmen.

To what's already said, (not to be endless) wee'll only add *Two Causes* more. The *One*, is the *deceit*, and *Knavery* of *Artizans*, and *Trades-men*; who for a *Private Gain* betray the *Interest* of the *Publique*; and *invert* the *Ballance* of *Trade*, by such *Abusive Manufactures*, as are neither *saleable* *abroad*, nor *serviceable* at *Home*, which both *Necessitates* the *Importation* of *Foreign Commodities*, and *hinders* the *Issue* of *Native*: beside the *Trouble Charge*, their *Deareness*, and their *little-Usefulness* consider'd.

We



We shall Conclude with *Pride*: which were't in *Pride* nothing else but what's expended upon *Guildings*, *Gold and Silver Lace*, and *Foreign Curiosities* of *Needle-work*; would not be inconsiderable. But where 'tis *General*, and extends both to all sorts of *Superstitions*, and all Degrees of Persons; That City goes by the *Pass* to *Ruine*: for *Pride*, is not only the *Fore-runner* of *Destruction*, and the *Cause* of it; but the *Loud*, and *Crying Provoker* of it.

## SECT. VI.

## THE COUNTRY.

THAT Interest which contributes the *Least* to a *Sedition*, and suffers the *most* by it, is That of the *Country*: which is properly comprised under *Tillage*, and *Pasture*. For I reckon all *Populous Places*, (whether *Towns or Villages*) that subsist by steady *Traffique*, or *Handy-crafts*, to be no other then *Dependencies* upon the *Metropolis*; which is usually, *That* in *Proportion* to the *Kingdom*, which the *Principal City*, of every *Province*, is to the *Other Parts* of it.

This Interest seldome or never leads a *Sedition* upon it's own *Ascents*; and when it does engage, under *Protection* possibly of the next *strong Hold*, or in favour of some neighbouring, and *Seditious Market-Town*, we do not find much hurt the *Country-man* does, so long as the *Sword*, and *Plough* are menaged by the same *Hand*. If they forsake their *Husbandry*, and turn *Souldiours*; they fall under ano-

The Country is  
sure to be un-  
done by a  
Warr.

ther Notion. But in short; let the Cause be what it will, and the event of a Warr what it can; They are sure to be undone by't: wherefore They may well be Friends to Peace, to whom Warr is so great an Enemy.

The Fruits of  
it.

Is there a Warr commenced? Their Carriages must waite upon the Army, Their Provisions feed them: Their Persons attend them, yes, and Their Contribution Pay Them. Their Teams must serve the State; Their Wives, and Girls, the Souldiery: They must be Mounting Dragons, when they should be Plowing. Lugging their Beanes and Bacon to the Head-Quarter, when they should be Sowing: and at last, scarce a Lame Jade to get in that little Harvest, which the wild Troupes have left them: Their Cattle are Driven away by one Party to day, Their Corn taken by another to Morrow, and when they are Thoroughly Plunder'd, because they had something; they must afterward expect to be Beaten too, because they have Nothing.

Are not These faire Encouragements to make Husbandmen Seditious? And yet, This Interest is severall wayes made use of to Promote Sedition. Particularly, by Three sorts of People; The Discontented Nobleman; the Rich Churle; the Stiff, and Contentious Free-born-Subject.

A Discon-  
tent Nobleman.

A Great Person may become Weary of the Court; and withdraw into the Country, out of divers unquiet Considerations: Out of Ambition, Pride, or Revenge.

If his Trouble be *Ambition*, his Course is to *Ambition*.  
 strengthen himself by Popularity, and make a Party,  
 by spending his Revenue in a Bountifull, and Open  
*Hospitality* upon the People: which is the most  
*Winning* and the most spreading of all *Obligations*.  
 His *Fades*, his *Kisses*, his *Curses*, are free to all  
 comers: his *Family* is the whole *World*; and his  
*Companions* are the *Wise*, and the best of *Good-fel-*  
*lows*.

If his *Retirement* be out of *Pride* as chusing ra- *Pride*:  
 ther to be the *first* Person in the Country, then  
 the *Second* or *Third* at Court: His businesse is *Po-*  
*popularity* too, though perhaps not Ayming so high  
 (for there are a sort of People, insufferably haughty  
 in their *Looks*, *Garbe*, and *Language*; that have  
 not *Courage* enough to be *Ambitious*) This Man's  
 attended by the best *Parasites* that are to be had for  
 Mony.

The *Third Distemper* is *Revenge*; and That's the *Revenge*.  
 worst of the *Three*: In *Ambition*, there's somewhat  
 that's *Noble*. *Pride* indeed, is a *Base*, and *Abject*  
*Vice*, (that is; a *Cowardly Pride*: Nay'tis at best,  
 but a *Simple Sin*) But *Revenge* is *Black*, and *Dia-*  
*bolical*. Let it proceed whence it will. Whether  
 from some *Affront*, *Repulse*, *Neglect*; Nay, a  
*Wry Look*, or a *Mistaken Hint* raises this *De-*  
*vill*.

This is a Humour now of another Complexion:  
*Morose*, *Unpleasant*, and rather watchful to Improve  
 an *Opportunity* of *Mischief*, then *Laborious* to pre-  
 pare it. In the House of a Person haunted with this  
*Fury*, you shall find Throngs of *Silenc'd Minisfers*.

*Discharged Officers, Crop-eared Schismatiques, Broken Citizens, &c.*

These are the *Dangerous Malecontents*, whose *Differing Inclinations of Temper* are no hindrance to their *Unity of Design*, where the *Safety of the Prince and Government* is the *Question*.

The Rich  
Churle.

Next to This *Dissatisfied Nobleman*, Follows the *Rich Churle*: which is a Creature, that opposing *Wealth to Dignity*, becomes the *Head of the People*, for his *Sauciness* of bearing up against the *Power*, and *Nobility* of the *Court*. It is scarce to be Imagined, The *Interest* of This *Chuff* in a *Popular Scuffle*; especially, if he has gotten his *Estate* by a *Rustical*, and *Plodding Industry*: for Then the *Vulgar* Reckon him as One of their *own Rank*, and support him, as the *Grace*, and *Dignity* of their *Order*.

The Contenti-  
ous Free born-  
Subj &c.

We come now to the *Stiff*, and *Contentious Free-born Subject*: the *Quaintest*, and the *Sharpest Youth* of the *Three*. Hee'll tell ye to a *hair*, upon what *Points*, *Prerogative* becomes *Tyranny*: How far a *Subject* may promote a *Rebellion*, and yet be *honest* himself, and cleave the very *Stem*, that divides the *Rights of King and Subject*. Does any *Minister of State*, or *Justice* passe his *Commission*, but the tenth part of a *Scrupel*? he cryes, 'Tis *Arbitrary*, *Illegal*, and an *Encroachment* upon the *Birth-right* of a *Free-born People*. Let him be *Question'd*, and the *Matter* Scann'd, here's his *Dilemma*. Either by *Carrying the Cause*, he *Justifies*, and *Puffs up* the *People*; or by *Suffering*

fering for it, he Enrages them: but still obliging them both ways; the One way as their Champion, and the Other, as their Martyr.

Upon the Summe of the Matter, That Government must be Carried very even, which These Instruments, in Combination, shall not be able to discompose.

Touching the Common Sort; it is so little in their Power to Embroyle a Kingdome; and so much lesse their Interest to do it, that This Little is enough said concerning Them; setting aside the Influence they have upon the Subject we are now entring upon.

## Sect. VII.

*The Body Representative.*

**T**He Seaventh and Last Interest we are to Treat of, is the *Body Representative*, which is but One Grand Interest made up of all the Rest; and as the Whole stands well, or ill-affected to the Government, so commonly does *This*. Yet it falls out sometime, that the Diligence, and Stickling of a Faction gets the Start of a General Inclination. It would aske an Age, to reckon up all the Inconveniencies which may arrive from the Evill Composition of This Assembly: but so strict an Account will not be Necessary, in regard that the Prince may, at his Pleasure, Remedy all, by Dissolving them.

One great Defect, is that in many places they have no Stated Rule how far their Cognisance extends; No Measure of their Privileges: through which

which Default, more Time is spent, and too too oft, more *Passion* stirr'd about the bounds of Their *Authority*, then the main *Business* of their Meeting. Beside the desperate Influence of This *Mysterious Incertainty*, upon the *Prince*, and *Publique*: Under which *Colour*, nothing so *Seditious*, but it may both be *introduc'd* and *Protected*. Suppose a Motion in the Assembly directly against the *Crown*: The *Prince* takes Notice of it; and demands *Reason* for it. Is't not a fine Reply, that to deny *Liberty of Speech*; to take Notice of any Thing in *Debate*; to Question any *One Member* without the *Leave of the Rest*, is a *Breach of Privilege*.

The *Representative* we here speak of, answers (the nearest of any) to the *House of Commons* in *England*; which *Resemblance* will much facilitate the task we are now upon, having only to look back into the *History of Charles the Martyr*, to find the *Greatest Mischiefs*, and the *Foulest Crimes* which such a *Convention in disorder* may be capable of; not meddling with the *Names of Persons*, but contenting our selves to discover the *Arts, Grounds, and Occasions of Seditions*, without reproaching the *Authors of them*.

The Dangerous mixture of a Representative.

The *Dangerous Mixture* of a *Representative*, we may divide into These Three *Parties*. The *Designers of Mischief*; the *Permitters of it*; and the *Incompetent Judges of it*: whose sayings, are either of *Commission, Omission, or Ignorance*.

To begin with the *First*. The *Designers* are either the *Ambitious Heads* of the *Faction*, that ayne at *Power*, as well as *Profit*, in the *Subversion* of the *Government*; or such *Dependencyes*, as they can Engage by *Menace*, *Flattery*, faire *Presentences*, *Money*, or *Preferment*. These in their *Severall Places*, promote the same *Seditious Interest*; and every man knows his *Station*.

The Designing  
Party.

They have their *Contrivers*, their *Speakers*, their *Sicklers*, their *Dividers*, their *Moderators*, and their *Blanks*: (their *I-and-NO-men*) by which *Method*, and *Intelligence*, all *Debates* are *Menaged* to the *Advantage* of the *Party*, and *Occasion*. They know when to *Move*, when to *Prisſe*, when to *Quit*, *Divers*, *Put off*, &c. and they are as *Skilfull* in the *Manner* of *Moulding* their *Busineſſe*, as they are *Watchfull* for the *Season* of *Timing* it. Add to this *Agreement*, and *Confederacy* of *Designe*, their *Zeal*, and *Earnestneſſe* of *Intention*; and what will not an *Indefatigable Industry*, joyned to these *Improvements* of *Order*, and *Counſell*, be able to accomplish? [The *Lower*, and *Weaker Faction*, is the *firmer* in *Conjunction* (ſays Sir F. Bacon) and it is often ſeen, that a few, that are *Stiffe*, doe *tire out* a *Greater Number*, that are more *Moderate*:]

Their Industry  
and Combination.

Yet to the *Miracles* that are wrought by *Force*, and *Aſiduity*, there is still requir'd a *Matter* *prediſpoſ'd*, and fit to work upon: and That's the *Dreſſe*, or *Cleanly Conching* of the *Project*. 'Tis not at first dath to attempt the *Person* of the *King*, but the *Multitude* must by *Degrees*, be made ſenſible

The Matter  
they work  
upon.

sible of the Faults of his *Ministers*; and Instructed to clamour against *Oppression* and *Prophaneness*. Why should a *Free-born Subject* be Press'd with *Taxes*, and *Obedience*, or a *Christian Libertine* be ty'd to worship by a *Set-forme*? Is it not against the *Fundamentals* of a *Mix'd Monarchy*, (That ridiculous supposition) for the *Supream Magistrate* to impose upon his *Coordinate Subjects*? Or, where is it *Commanded* in the *Bible*, for people to *Kneele* at the *Communion*, or to *stand up* at *Gloria Patri*?

Their Maner  
of Proceeding.

These are *sure Grievances* indeed, and now the *Humour's* ripe for *Petitions* to the *Senate*, which being both *Procur'd* and *Fram'd* by a *Cabale* of the *Senatours* Themselves, cannot sayle of being acceptable to the *Faction*: who, by this *Artifice*, get the *Credit* of being taken for the proper *Arbitrators* of all *Differences* betwixt *King*, and *People*, through which mistake, the *Popular Representative* becomes both *Party* and *Judge*, and it is Then no hard matter to *Guess* what will become of the *Prerogative*.

By making the *most* of all *Complaints*, and the *Worst* of all *Abuses*, they bespeak a *Compassion* for the *One* side, and they provoke an *Odium* toward the *Other*: which *Amplification* renders exceedingly *Necessary* the *Remedy* of a *Thorough-Reformation*.

The *Subject* is to be *Free* in *One* Point, and the *Monarch* *Limited* in *Another*. These *Courts* are to be *Abolisht*, whose *Counsellours* to be *remov'd*, &c.--- And in fine, when the *Prince* has *yielded*, till they want matter for *Complaints*; Their *Fears* are not lesse



less *Clamour*, and *Importune*, then were their *Complainings*. Of which *Indurifal*, and unlimited *Discompe*. This is the certain Issue; from one desire they proceed to another, till the Prince to secure *Their Jealousy*, has parted with all possibility of Preserving *Himself*.

This is their *Course*, where they find the Government already in *Disorder*; but how to *Introduce* That *Disorder*, is quite another point of *Cunning*.

They are *hence* only to *procure* Those *Grievances*, for which they are *afterward* to provide *Remedies*, and to cast the State into a *Disease*. that with better Pretense they may give it *Physick*; Siding with the *Prerogative* against the *People*, in the first place, and with the *People* against the *Prerogative*, in the next. In a word; Their *Services* are *snare*s; they give a *little*, that they may take all, and by a *Plausible Oppression*, provoke a *Barbarous Rebellion*.

Another sort of ill Ministers in a *Representative*, are the *Permitters* of these Abuses: Such as being *Chosen* and *Entrusted* for the *Publique Weale*, *Abandon* their *Stations*, and *Deliver up* their *Country*, Betwixt *whom*, and the *Conspirators Themselves*, there is but *This Difference*. The *One* *Quits* the *Breach*, and the *Other*, *Enters*: *These*, *Throw down* their *Arms*, and *Those* *Take the Town*; what the *One* *Party* carries by *Treason*, the *Other* loses by *Comardice*.

The Permitters of Seditious Contrivements.

The Deferters  
of their Trust  
are taken off

Of These Deferters, some are taken Off by Profits, Pleasure, Vanity, Sloth, Neglect, or Partiality: Others, are led by their Passions; as Fear, Anger, &c. In all which Cases, whoever prefers a Private Interest to a Publique, Betrayes his Trust.

by Profits,

Some Peoples Mouths are Stopp'd, with Offices, Rewards, Fair Promises, Hopes of Preferment, &c. And These, upon the very Crisis of a Debate, find Twenty Shifts, to waive the pitch of the Dispute, and let the Question fall; even though the Crown it self depend upon the Issue of it. This is done, either by coming too late, or perhaps, not at all; by Going away too soon, or saying Nothing when they are There: by which Discouragements, the Cause is lost, only for want of Their Arguments, and Voices to Turn the Scale.

Pleasure,

Others are Drawn from Their Duties by Pleasure: perhaps a Party at Tennis, Bowles; Chards, a Pack of Dogs, a Cock fight, or a Horse-match, a Comedy, a Good-fellow, or a Mistress: And while They are Thus Employ'd, the Vigilant Faction steals a Vote That's worth a Kingdom.

Vanity,

Some again are so Transported with the Vanity of Dress, and Language, that rather then serve the Publique with one hair amiss, or in one Broken Period, they'll let the Publique Perish. Mallet Rem-Publicam turbare, quam Capillos. These, while their Country lies at Stake, are Ordering of their Heads, and Polishing the Phrase, Shaping the Parts of a Set-Speech, till 'tis too late to use it. Nothing methinks does lesse become a Grave Assembly, then This  
same

same *Facultas loquendi*: this same *Rhetoricall Twistle-twattle*; it spins out so much Time in *Tedious Circumstances*, that it makes a man e'en sick of a *Good Cause*, and for the very *Form*, prejudg the *Reason* of it.

*Sloth*, and *Neglect*, are yet more dangerous in a by Sloth and Neglect, Senatour; nor onely in *Regard* of *Surprises* from the *Faction*, but of *Discontentments* likewise from the *People*. These think a *Wet Day*, or a *Cold Morning*, a *Sufficient Discharge* of their *Attendance*: and while they are taking i'other *Napp*, or i'other *Bottle*, the *Monarch* perhaps has lost his *Crown*, or the *Subject* his *Liberty*.

Come to *Particular Cases*, how many *Families* are lost by *Disappointments*; by *Relying upon promises*; *Delays from Time to Time*! How many *Just* and *Sad Petitions* are *thrown aside, unregarded*; as serving onely for *waste Paper*! and so far from *Reliefe*, they cannot obteyn so much as a *bare Reading*.

*Distinguishing of Persons in Matters of Equity*, by Partiality. is furthermore a great *Abuse*; where a *Friend*, an *Acquaintance*, or some *By-Respect* shall interrupt the *Speedy*, and *Direct Course* of *Justice*. (I do not say *Divert*; though to forbear *helping the Right*, or not to *binder the Wrong*, because of such or such an *Interest*, is but a *Negative Oppression*.)

Those that are mov'd by *Passions*, from their *Duties*, are not lesse *Culpable* than the *Rest*. For a *Good Patriot* *Fears* Nothing, but to be *Dishonest*; *Hates* Nothing, but *Iniquity*; and knows no other *Friend* then *Justice*. Passion.

Is any Thing propos'd, which to my *Reason* ap-

Fear,

pears of *Dangerous Consequence*; *Unlawful* to my *Conscience*; *Dishonorable* to my *Prince*, or *Country*? Do I *Discharge* my *Soul* to *God*, and to the *World*, in not opposing it? because forsooth 'tis my *Lords Interest*, or *Project*. Where 'tis my *Office* to *withstand* a *Publique Injury*, 'tis my *Act*, if I *suffer* it: Nor will it serve the turn to say, *Alas! I'm but one Man, what should I struggle for?* A *Noble Truth*, and *Equity*, though *Single*, ought to be *Maintein'd* against the *World*. But very rarely is *That* the *Case*; for *Those Particulars*, that under *Colour* of *This Singleness*, *relinquish* and *withdraw*, would in *Conjunction* cast the *Balance*. The *Question* is but *This*.

Whether shall I rather *venture*, the *losse* of an *Office*, or the *losse* of my *Country*? Whether shall I rather *disoblige* a *Powerfull Subject*, or *Betray* my *Lawfull Prince*? Whether, in fine, shall I rather *chuse*, *Modestly* to *Oppose* a *Faction*, or *Tamely* to *desert* my *Conscience*.

or Personal  
Animosity.

Some we find *Prepossess'd* with *Personall Animosities*; and *These Particular Piques*, *are many Times*, the *Bane* of *Publique Designs*. They do not so much heed the *Matter*, as the *Man* that *Promotes* it; They are resolv'd to like *Nothing* from *That Hand*; and while they are *Cavilling* about *Niceties*, and *Nothings*; the *adverse Party* runs away with the *Sum* of the *Contest*.

Another *Infelicity* is where *Elections* are *Carried* by *Recommendation*, *Fortune*, or *Affection*; without any *Regard* to the *Abilities* of *Persons*.

These

*These are a Dangerous Party, and a fit Subject to work upon: for being more addicted to follow the Appearances, then Capable of Comprehending the Reasons of Things; They are not only Liable to fall into Mistakes, but Obstinate Maintainers of Them; and in all Cases Determinable by Plurality of Voices, the Greater Number of Fooles weighs down the more Prudentiaall Counsellors of Fewer wise Men Nay, which is most Ridiculous and Miserable; (but that in Popular Suffrages it must be so) His Vote many Times Casts a Kingdome, that has not Brain enough to Rule his Private Family, Deciding the Question, without understanding the Debate.*

Fools are fit  
Instruments  
for Knaves.

We have Prosecuted This Theme of *Miscarriages*; far enough. From the *Discovery*, our next advance is to the *Remedies* of them: *The harder undertaking; for Faults are more easily found, then mended.*

## C A P. X.

*How to prevent the Beginnings, and hinder the Growth of Seditions in General; together with Certain Particular Remedies, apply'd to the Distempers of Those Seven Interests, mentioned in the foregoing Chapter.*

Love and Reverence are the Pillars of Majesty.

**T**He Two main Pillars that support Majesty, are *Love and Reverence*: To which are oppos'd, (as the Foundation of a Prince his Ruine) *Contempt and Hatred*. What are *Disloyall Actions*, but the Issue of *Disloyall Thoughts*? Or what are *Generall Tumules*, but the *Rationall Effects* of *Generall Discontents*? (The *Violent* part being no other, then the *Manifestation* of a *Treason* already *Form'd* and *Perfected* in the *Affections*) So that to set the *Heart Right*, is the *Prime Duty* of a *Good Subject*, and Then to observe the *Law*, for *Love* of the *Authority*. Kings are first *Render'd Odious*, or *Despis'd*; and in *Pursuance* of *Those Passions* they come at last, to be *Deithron'd*, or *Murther'd*. That is; to be *deithron'd*, or *Murther'd Actually*; (for even the first *Malicious Motion* was *Murther* in the *Heart*, and betwixt God and our own *Souls every Seditious Thought is a Rebellion*)

Although

Although no Prince can be *Mighty*, without the Love of his People, or *Secure* under their *Hatred*; (the *One* being *Necessary* to his *Greatness*, and the *Other* *Sufficient* to his *Undoing*) yet must we not suppose the *Subjects Love* more *Needfull* to their *Prince*, than *His* to *them*: since upon *His Protection* depends *Their Welfare*; no less then, upon *Their Support*, *His Power*.

The Power of a Prince depends upon the Love of his People.

Because the *Hazard* of disuniting is *main*, it must not be supposed that it is therefore *Equal*; nor that the *Crime* is so, where *Tumult*, and *Oppression* are the *Question*. They are *Both* ill, but with exceeding odds of *worse* betwixt them: The *One* does but affront the *Mode* of Government; the *Other* strikes at *Government* it selfe: the very *Ends*, and *Reason* of it; — *Peace, Order, and Society*.

A *Prince*, without the *Hearts* of his *Subjects*, is in a *bad Condition*; but Hee that falls from *Hatred*, to *Contempt*, *His Case* is *Desperate*. For when they neither *Love* his *Person*, nor *Fear* his *Power*; They are both *Provok'd* to *Contrive* mischief, and *Embodden'd* to *Execute* it.

The Grounds of Sedition.

These are the *Generall*, and *Enflaming Grounds* of *Seditions*; which may be easily prevented, and *Cut off* in their next *Immediate Causes*. The *Difficulty* is, for a *Prince* to be *Popular*, without making himself *Cheap*; to *Gratify* his *People*, without *Detracting* from his *Authority*; and so to *Comply* with the *Interests* of his *Subjects*, as not to be wanting to the *Necessities* of his *Crown*. In the *Due Temperation* of which *Mixture*, Consists, in a *Great measure*,



the Skill of Governing; and thereupon depends the Peace, and Safety of the Government.

In all well-ordered Monarchies, there are certain Measures and Boundaries, that Part the Rights of Kings and Peoples; and These, are either Laws, or Customs; providing for the Common Good, and Safety; both of the Subject in his Obedience, and of the Sovereign in his Authority. Let a Prince therefore stick to his ancient Laws, and he may be sure his People will stick to him; and more he needs not ask, being by Those Laws arm'd with Power sufficient to the Intent of Government: or, at the worst, if any Defect there be, the Fault is imputed to the Constitution, and not to the Person.

There may indeed occur such Cases, and Emergencies of Imminent, and Publique Danger, as (being un-foreseen by the Wisdom of former Times) are left without a Rule. Of These, beyond Dispute, The only Supreme Governour is the only Supreme Judge; and under so strict a Necessity, He not only may, but ought to dispense with Common Formalities, in Order both to the Discharge of his Duty, and the Welfare of his People: His Oath of Protection, Implying him Vested with a Power of Protecting; and his Conscience, as a Governour, obliging him to be careful of his Charge.

The Objection is Frivolous, that This Supposition opens a Door to Tyranny; because that at This Rate, a Prince has no more, but to pretend a Danger, and Then to do what he Pleases. 'Tis very right a Prince may Tyrannize under This Colour; but 'tis as certain,

Let a Prince  
Stick to his  
Laws, and his  
People will  
Stick to him.

The Oath of  
Protecting, im-  
plies a Power  
of Protecting.



tain, that a People cannot Scruple *This Inconvenience*, without incurring a Greater: for 'tis an Opinion *Destructive of Government itself*; all Subjects being equally expos'd to the same Hazard, under all Governments; and it is inevitable, that either the King must have it in his Power to Oppress his People, or the People have it in Theirs to Destroy their Sovereign. (and betwixt the Ills of *Tyranny and Rebellion*, all the world knows the *Disproportion*). Wherefore let Subjects hope and believe the Best of their Prince his Will, and Inclination; without meddling with his Power; for it is not lesse His Interest to be well Obey'd, and Belov'd; then it is Theirs, to be well Govern'd.

Where a King has it not in his Power to Oppress his People, They have it in Theirs to Destroy their King.



Yet when a Prince, by *Exigencies of State*, finds himself forc'd to waive the *Ordinary Path*, and *Course of Law*; the Lesse He swerves, the Better: and the more unwilling He appears to Burden his People; the more willing shall he find Them to serve Him. Especially, he should be Cautelous, where men's Estates, or Freedoms, are the *Question*; to make the *Necessity* as *Manifest* as is possible, and the *Business* as *Light*, and as *Equal*, as Consists with his *Honour*, and *Convenience*: Mixing however with This *General Indulgence*, such a *Particular Severity*, where his *Authority* is *Disputed*, that the *Obedients* may have Reason to Love his Goodness, and the *Refractory*, as much, to Fear his Displeasure.

A Mixture of Indulgence, and Severity, Obligates the Loyal, and Avers the Refractory.

By These Means, may a Prince preserve himself from the *Hatred* of his People, without exposing himself to their *Contempt*, and in Order to the avoiding of That too, wee'll take up This *Obser-*

vation

vation by the way : That Subjects do Generally Love, or Hate, for Their own Sakes ; but when they despise a Prince, it is for some Personal Weakness, or Indignity in Himself.

The Influence  
of Prudence,  
and Courage.

Nothing makes a Monarch Cheaper in the Eyes of his People, then That which begets an ill opinion, either of his Prudence, or Courage ; and if they find once that he will either be Over-reach'd, or Over-aw'd, they have his measure. By Courage here, we do not intend a Resolution only against Visible and Pressing Dangers ; but an Assurance likewise, and Firmness of mind against Audacious, and Threatning Counsels.

The Prudence we intend, is of a more extensive Notion ; and from the most Mysterious Affairs of Royalty, descends to the most Private, and Particular Affairs of a Princes Life. It enters into his Cabinet-Counsels, and Resolves ; his Publique Acts of State ; his very Forms of Language, and Behaviour ; his Exercises, and Familiar Entertainments. In fine, it is scarce lesse Dangerous for a Sovereign to separate the Prince, from the Person, even in his daily Practices, and Conversations ; then to permit Others to Divide Them in their Arguments : And in a word, to secure himself from Contempt, it behoves a Monarch to Consider as his most Deadly Enemies, such as Abuse his Authority ; and by no means to allow, even in his most Acceptable Servants, and most Familiar Humours, too great a Freedom toward his Person.

A Prince that  
bears Affronts,  
and Familiarities  
from his  
Subjects, Lessens-himself.

Not but that a Sovereign may in many Cases Familiarize with his Subjects, and, by so doing, win the

the Reputation, of a Wise and Gracious Prince: Provided that the sweetnesse of his Nature, cause him not to forget the Severity of his Office; and that his Stooping to his People, prove not an Emboldening of Them to come up to Him. This is a Course to Prevent Sedition, in the First Cause, and check it in the Bud.

But if it come once to shew it self and spread; there is first Requisite, (upon a Cleare and Open Troofe) a Speedy Execution of Lawes to the Utmost Rigour. I say, [upon a Cleare and Open Proof] for in such cases, 'tis of great Advantage to a State, to make the Crime as evident as the Punishment, that the People may at once Detest the Fact and Approve the Justice. I say Likewise [a speedy execution] for Delay brings many Inconveniences: It gives a Fault on Time to Contrive, and Unite; and Boldnesse to Attempt: for it looks as if They that sit at the Helme were either more sensible of The Danger, or less mindfull of their Duty then becomes them. Lastly; whereas it is added, [to the Utmost Rigour:] My meaning is not to extend the Severity to a Multitude of Offenders, but to Deterre the Generality by making some few, and Dreadfull Examples.

How to hinder  
the Spreading  
of a Seditious  
Humour.

Nay my Advice should be, to Pick These Few too. They should not be Fools, Madmen, or Beggers; but the Boldest, the Wisest, the most Circumspect and Wealthy of the Party: the Leaders, and first Starters of the Quarrell: to shew that neither their Confidence should Protect them, nor their Shifis, and Politiques avayle them. But above All; let not their

Many save Them, for That's no other then *Setting of a Price upon the Head of the Sovereign.*

Let a Prince  
keep an Eye  
over Great As-  
semblies.

Another Expedient to Stop a spreading mischief; is for a Prince to keep a watchfull eye over Great Assemblies; which are either Irregular and Lawlesse; or Regular and Constant; or Arbitrary and Occasionall.

Let him be  
Quick,

Concerning the First; it is seldome seen: where the Manner of a Meeting is Tumultuary, that the Businessse of it is not so too; and where Many Concurr in One Unlawfull Act 'tis no hard matter, to persuade them to agree in Another. So that to frustrate the Ends, and Prevent the Consequences of such Meetings, the surest way, is for the Sovereign to employ his Authority, Timely; and strictly, to Prohibit them. If That does no Good; He has no more to doe, but Instantly to Scatter them by force, and single out the Heads of the Riot, for Exemplary Punishment.

and Watchfull.

Touching Conventions which are Regular, and Steady; It concernes the Chief Magistrate not to be without his Creatures, and Discoverers, in Those Assemblies; and to see that they be well Influenc'd as to the Government. For Instance; when the People Meet to Chuse Officers; when Those Officers meet to advise upon Businessse, 'tis worth the while for a Prince to learn bow the Pulse Beats; and Principally, to Over-watch Churches; and Courts of Judicature: Both in regard of the hazzard of Errours in matters of Law, and Religion; and of the Multitude, being ever in readinesse, and Humour, to Entertein them.

As to Meetings Arbitrary, and Occasionall, heed must

must be taken to the *Persons assembling*, the *Occasion* which brings them *Together*, and the *Matter* whereupon they *Treat*; which we shall handle in their proper places, and so passe from *Generalls* to *Particulars*, beginning with the *CHURCH*.

## SECT. I.

*By what means, Heresies, and Schismes, may be kept out of the CHURCH; Their Encrease hinder'd, and the Seditious Consequences of Them Prevented: with the Remedies of other Mischiefs arising from Disorders in the CHURCH.*

Since so it is, that *Divisions* in the *Church* have no further Interest in This place, then as they Lead to *Seditious* in the *State*: the shortest Cut I know; will be to reduce all of That Tendency to *St Francis Bacon's* Notable Comprizall of Them, under Two Properties [*If a New Sect have not Two Properties fear it not, for (says he) it will not spread. The One is, the Supplanting or the Opposing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular than That. The Other is, the Giving Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for Speculative Heresyes (such as were in Antient Times the Arrians, and now the Arminians) though they work mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they do not produce any great Alterations in States, except it be by the Help of Civill Occasions.*] Now when a Prince meets with a Faction Thus Marq'd, let him Look to himself: for there are against him, the best Counterfeits of a Friend, and the most Deadly Compeffion of an Enemy; the Strongest

The most dangerous of all Sects.

of

of all *Allurements*; the most *Popular* of all *Designs*; and the most *Rational* *Meanes* to *Accomplish* it.

But the Question will be, How to *Prevent* what is not as yet *Discover'd*. To which, we answer that the *Self* here spoken of, is *New*, either *Absolutely*, or *Comparatively*. If *Absolutely*; Observe what *Carnall Interest* they drive: If *Comparatively*, marke what *Copy* they follow; and Measure the *Disciple* by his *Master*.

A sure way  
to prevent  
Schisme.

One *Safe*, and *Certain Remedy*, (be the *Novelty* what it will,) is not to suffer any *Innovation* whatsoever, without a *warrantable Authority*: no, not so much as a *Publick Dispute* against an *Establish'd Order*, from a *Private Person*. Nay more; let the *Dissent* be *Right*, or *Wrong*, 'tis the same thing as to the *Reason of Government*, though not so to the *Conscience* of the *Dissenter*. Suppose the *Subject* of an *Idolatrous Prince*, within his *Masters Dominions*, and *Contrary* to his *Expresse Order*, *Preaches against* the *Religion* there *Establish'd*: he does well, to *Discharge* his *Conscience*, but let him have a *Care* of the *Consequence*; for if in *Order* to the making of *Good Christians*, he makes *Bad Subjects*, his *Zeal* will hardly acquit him of *Sedition*: God does not allow of *Proposing Good Ends*, by *Ill Means*; and of *Reforming Religion*, by *Rebellion*.

Have a Care.

Let him have a *Care* likewise, if he comes to *suffer for well-doing*, how he behaves himself; for if he but *open his Mouth* against the *Civill Magistrate*, as a *Persecutor*, he betrayes himself to be an *Hypocrite*.

There are *Two Sects*, whom I dare say, This *Doctrine* will not please, i. e. the *Pontifical Presbyterians*,

rians, and the Rigid Jesuites. The Latter of which, have, for Convenience sake, been True to One King: The Former, (*give the Devil his Due*) since Presbyterians had a Being, were never True to Any: or if they ever were, let him that Loves Them best, or knows them better, shew me but when, where, how; and with a Noverint universi, I do here declare, I'll make a Publique Recantation. Till Then, we'll take the Presbyterian for the Cook-Schismaticus, and (if Sir Francis Bacon's Note holds Good) the Dangerous New Sect: against Whom, no Caution can be too early, no Impertunity too Earnest, no Restriction too Severe.

These are They that (according to the Lord St. Albans) Propagate Religion by Warrs; Force Consciences; Nourish Seditions; Authorise Conspiracies and Rebellions. That put the Sword into the Peoples hand, and Dash the first Table, against the Second. In short; all Those Popular, and Supplanting Politiques, which we find only here and there; Scatter'd, and Thin, in Other Sects, are by These People drawn into a Practicable Method, a Set-form of Sedition.

They Govern Their Looks, their Words, their Actions; Nay, their very Dresse, Garbe, and Accent, by a Rule: They are Instructed, when to Beseech, and when to Expostulate; when to Flatter, and when to Threaten; when to Offer, and when to deny; when to Presse Swearing, and when to Declaim against it; when to Save, and when to Kill.

The Presbyterians Set-form.



And Methode. In the *first Scene*, ye have the *Schismaticke* upon his Knees, *begging* his Prince into a *Dispensation*, for *Scrupulous Consciencs*, that perhaps stick at such and such *Ceremonies*; the *Crosse*, the *Surplice*, or the like.

Their Modesty. Let but the Sovereign *Comply Thus far*, and *what's the Fruit of This Indulgence?* Within a Day or Two, they come for *more*, and by *Degrees*, *more still*, till at the *Last*, they find the *Government* of the Church as *Troublesome*, as they did the *Rites* of it; and *Bishops* as great a *Grievance*, as *Ceremonies*. Where the *King Stops*, They *Carroll*, and now, from *Petitioners* for *Freedome* to *Themselves*, they are *Grown* to be most *Insolent denyers* of it to *Others*.

Their Art is next, to *Tune the People*; which is best done by the *Pulpit*, where *One half* of their *Businesse* is *Invective* against *Prelacy*, and the *Other* is spent in *Well-Acted Supplications*, that *God would turn the Kings Heart*; Accompting His *yielding* to all They *Aske*, as a *Divine Assurance* that *their Prayers* are heard. But if the *Monarch* still *holds out*; what *Pitty 'tis* (they Cry) so sweet a *Prince* should be *Mistreated*? and Then they fall upon his *Evill Counsellors*; still *Taking* all he *Gives*, and *Struggling* for the *Rest*, till having first *Disrob'd* him of his *Rights*, *Depriv'd* him of his *Friends*; Step after Step, they *attempt* his *Sacred Person*, and at last take away his *Life*.

Here's



Here's their *Glorious King*; the End of all their *Fames*, and *Covenants*, Their *Prayers*, and *Pastings*; or, in a word, the *summe of their Religion*.

It was great *Blasphemy*, (says Sir F. B.) when the *Devil* said; I will *Ascend* and be like the *Highest*; But it is greater *Blasphemy*, to *Personate God*, and bring him in saying; I will *Descend*, and be like the *Prince of Darknesse*, and what is it better to make the *Cause of Religion*, to descend, to the *Cruell*, and *Execrable Actions*, of *Murdering Princes*, *Butchery of People*, and *Subversion of States*, and *Governments*?

He that stands firm against (not the *Wis*, or *Bravery*, but) the *Fawning*, and *Treacherous Insinuations* of This *Faction*, may make himself sport with all Other *Practices*, and *Combinations* whatever: and That *Prescription*, which helps This *Evill*, serves for all other *Publique*, and *Intestine Maladies*.

I think we may be *Positive*, that there neither is, nor ever was in Nature, any *Society of Men*, without a *Flisious Mixture*, under what *Government*, or *Governour* soever. I think we may be as *Positive* likewise, that Those *Ambitious*, and *Unsatisfy'd Particulars*, with which all *Constitutions* are infested, are only *Deter'd from troubling all Governments*, by the want of *Opportunities to Plot*, and *Contrive*; and by the *Hazzards* they meet with, in putting Those *Plots* in *Execution*.

Wherefore it ought to be a Prince his *first Care*, to *Choak These Seeds of Discord*: which may be

The means of  
Preventing  
Schisme.

Effected, by a *Provision of Orthodox Ministers*; (to the utter *Exclusion of the Contrary*) by *Prohibiting Private Meetings, or Conventions*; and by *taking heed to the Presse*. A *Watchfulness* in These Three Points Secures the *Church* from *Schismas*, and Consequently the *State* from *Conscientious Seditions*. (at least; if I am not Mistaken in my Presumption, that there is not any fourth way of *Dangerous Communication*)

Touching the *Licentious abuse of the Presse*, and the *Freedome of Riotous Assemblies*; the *Disemper* is not as yet grown *Bold enough*, to *avow Those Liberties*: But from the *Non-Conforming Ministers*, we must expect *hard Pleading*.

*Object.*  
Petition for  
Peace, pag. 415.

What? [shall the Faithfull Guides be ejected, upon the account of Forms, or Ceremonies? because they dare not do that which they Judge to be so great a Sin against the Lord?] May not a Dissenting Brother be an Honest man?

*Answ.*  
The Mazzards  
of Toleration.

Our Reply shall be *short*, and *Charitable*. If the People take them for *Guides*, they will be the apter to *follow* them; so that the *fairer* their *Credit* is, the *worse* is their *Argument*.

Nor are they *laid aside*, as if the *Difference* it self were so *Criminal*, but for the *evill Consequences of Retaining Them*.

*First*, it advances the *Reputation* of the *Dissenting Party* to have the matter Look as if either the *Power*, or *Reason* were on *Their side*.

Next

Next, it Subjects the Prince to be Thought *Dissident*, either of his *Authority to Command*, or of the *Justice of the Thing Commanded*.

Thirdly; a *Dissenting Minister* makes a *Dissenting Congregation*.

Fourthly; it makes *Conscience* a *Cloak* for *Sedition*, and under Colour of *Dividing* from the *Church*, it Ministers Occasion for People to *unite* against the *State*.

Fifthly; it not only leads to *Novell Opinions*, whereof the *Vulgar* are both *Greedy*, and *Curious*; but it Possesses the Multitude with These Two *Desperate, and Insociable Persuasions*. First, That the *People* are *Judges of the Law*; and Next, That because *God* alone has Power over Their *Souls*, the *Sovereign* has none over their *Bodies*.

As to the *Honesty* of a *Dissenting Brother*; his *Honesty* is only to *himself*, but his *Dissent* is to the *Publicque*: and the *Better* the *Man* is, the *Worse* is the *President*.

Upon These *hazzards*, depends the *Royalty* of That *Sovereign*, that *dispenses with the Law*, to *Indulge This Faction*: and, which is the great *Pitty* of all, the *better* he *deserves*, the *worse* they *use* him. So that the only way for a *Prince* to deal *Safely* with These *People*, is *first* to lay aside That *Dangerous*, and *Fatal Goodnesse*, and *Steer* his *Resolutions* by the *Compass* of a *Severe*, and *Inexorable Reason*. Not that *Kings* are *Gods*, in any *Respect*, more than in their *Power*, and *Mercy*; but there are certain *Cases*, and *Instances*, wherein That *Power*, and *Mercy* may be *Restreyn'd*; and wherein 'tis possible that what

is Excellent in Nature, may be a slip in Government. 'Tis One Thing for a Party to ask Pardon for a Fault already Committed, and another thing to beg a Dispensation beforehand, to Commit it. And there's This Difference also in the Issue of the Grants. The Prince has the Faction at His Mercy, the One way; and the Faction has got the Prince at Theirs, the Other. But to the Point.

The Foundation of Presbytery.

Will the Monarch's Yielding to this, or That, Consent them? They'll say 'tis all they aime at; and truly I'd believe them: would they but shew mee out of their whole Tribe, any one Instance of This Moderation to save the Credit of my Charity; Any Presbyterian Interest in Nature that is not Rays'd upon the Ruines of a Prince, and Cemented with Broken Vowes, and Promises.



If it be Thus; Nothing lesse then a Miracle can secure That Monarch that makes This Faction Master of the Pulpit: and This King *Charls* the Martyr prov'd by sad Experience: For not a Soul that by the Instigation of Schismaticall Lecturers deserted the Church, but became an Enemy to the State. So that Effectually a Gracious Toleration in some Cases, is by Some people understood no otherwise, then as a Tacit Commission from the Person of the King to Levy a Warr against his Office. And it is very rarely that such an Indulgence is better Employ'd. In which Opinion we are not a little Confirm'd, by the Reflections of That Blessed Prince above mentioned. [I wish (says he) I had not suffered My own Judgment to have been overborne

borne in some Things; more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My Confidence had lesse betrayed My self, and My Kingdoms, to Those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but Power, and Occasion, to do Mischief.] And after the utmost Tryall of Bounty and Remisnesse to That Faction; These are his words to his Royall Successour [I cannot yet Learn That Lesson, nor I hope never will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction, with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publique Interest, and the Good of the Community.]

Finally, Those Perfidious Creatures which at first Petition'd their Sovereign, afterwards fought against Him, and Imprisen'd Him: Refusing him in his Distresse the Comfort of his own Chaplains, in Requittall for having Granted them the Liberty of their Consciences. Who strook the Fatall Blow, it matters not: If He had not been Disarm'd, he had not been Kill'd. Subjects do not Hunt Kings for Sport; only to Catch Them, and let them go again. To Conclude; He was persecuted with Propositions worse then Death; as by his Choyce appear'd: for he Preferr'd rather to Die, then Sign Them. But to Signalize the Honour of his Memory, and the Glory of his Martyrdom, take his Last Resolution, and Profession.

See B. 1. 1. 1.  
Pag. 119.

See Pagans  
blush at These  
Christians.



I look

\*E. N. B. 1711.  
Pag. 163.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my Enforced contestation for, and vindication of, the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the Just Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government, and due Encouragements, then if I had with the greatest Advantages of Success, over-born them all, as some men have now Evidently done, **Whatever Designs they at first pretended.**

From a Supposition of the first Inclination to Schism, proposing also how to strangle it in the Birth: we are now to Consider it in some Degree of Growth, and Progression; and to enquire after the best means to prevent such Mischieves, as may arise from the further Encrease, and spreading of it. That is; the Mischieves of Conspiracy, which may be Promoted, either by Speech, or Writing.

The Growth of  
Schisme.

The first great Hazzard is when Popular Persons, are put in Popular Employments, and in Populous Places. A Cunning, and a Factionist Minister, is a Dangerous Instrument in a City; and the more Dangerous, if Tolerated; for Then he stirs up Tumults by Authority: and who shall blame the Flock for Following the Shepherd?

The

The Liberties of *Conventicles*, and *Pamphlets*, are likewise of *Desperate Influence* upon the *People*; but These (as is already said) are easily *Suppress'd* by the *Reasonable Execution* of *Laws*. But There's no *Dallying* with the *Combination*.

If through the fault of *Negligent Officers*, the *Distemper* be gone too far, and the *Confederacy* grown *Strong* and *Bold* enough to struggle with the *Law*. Then, *Other Arts* must be found out, either to *amuse*, *Ensnare*, or *Disunite* the *Faction*. The *Last Resort* is *violence*, which must be *Timely* too before the *Reverence* of *Authority* is quite *Lost*. And let the *King Himself* appear; not only to *Ask*, but *Take* the *Heads* of the *Sedition*; before the *Quarrell* is *Transferr'd* from his *Ministers*, to his *Person*; if he but *Stoops*, he *Falls*. How horrible a *Murder* was That which *Cæsar* *Quieted* at *Placentia*? *Single*, *Unarm'd* and with *One wretched word*. (*QUINTES*)

— Nec dum deseviat Ira,

*Exspectat; Medios properat tentare Furor.*

Nor *Waits* he till the *Hot Fit* should *assuage*,

But at the *Maddest*, *Scorns*, and *Braves* their *Rage*;

As the *Resolve* was *Great*, and the *Success* *Good*, A Noble *Resolve*,  
so doubtless was the *Reason* of This *Action*; For  
by the *Suddenness*, he *Prevented* their *Agreement*;  
and by the *General Contempt* of *Danger*, he was  
almost *Certain* to *Divide* the *Revolt*; making the

Nobler Part of the *Mentiers* to *Adore* him, and the *Ruler*, to *Fear* him.

If the bare *Presence* of a *General*, could have This Power upon a *Disciplin'd*, *Ingen'd*, and *Daring* Army; what should a *Lawful Monarch* apprehend, from an *Unpractic'd*, and *Loose Multitude*?

But the *Dispute* is not yet Brought to This *Extremity*; our Purpose in This Place, being rather to *Frustrate*, and *Disappoint* the *Malice* in the *Con-ivance*, then *Crash* it in the *Execution*. To which end are *Requillite*, great *Diligence*, *Secrecy*, *Watch-falnesse*, *Moderation*; and (as what rate soever) a *strict* and *General Intelligence*: All which together, make up a *Necessary*, and *Befitting Prudence*.

For the Prince  
Reform be-  
tune.

Sir Francis Bacon's Counsell is, to *Begin*, with *Reforming Abuses*: a worke seldom out of *Season*, but never more needfull; then upon the very first *Armurings*, and *Motions* toward *Trouble*. Most especially, let *Great Towns* be Supply'd with *Good Ministers*, and the *Earlier* the *Better*, least the *Multitude* think it *Extorted*; and the *Guilty* become too *Strong* for the *Innocent*.

And Imparti-  
ally.

It ought to be *Impartial* too; for a *Toleracion* on the *One* hand, will make *Justice* it selfe look like a *Persecution* on the *Other*. Beside That it takes away the *Subject* of the *Clamour*; and enacts the *Reputation* of the *Monarch*, in making him appear the *Common Father* of his *People*.

By these meanes, may the *Church* be *Purg'd* of *Schisme*, without much hazard of *Sedition*.

If the *Play* be already *Made*, and the *Malice* made *Leaven'd*; The *Sovereign* is to look for *Potai-*



ons, on the Behalf of Ejected Ministers, in the Names of Thousands; and Accompanied with the Rudeness rather of a Riot, than a Request. The Restorers may be Put Off, Threatened, or Punished &c. — according to the Merit of their Behaviour: but let a watch be set upon the Leaders of These Troupes: their Harts, and Correspondents. Let it be Mankind, who Intercede, who Mitigate on Their behalfe.

Note.

Let the Motions of the Dissaffected Clergy be likewise Observ'd: which of the Nability They Frequent: and in fine, Spies Employ'd upon all their Considerable Privacies: for, let the Cry be what it will, the Cause of these Disorders is Ambition. Of which in another Place, and with One Word more we'll Conclude This Poem.

Ambition is the Cause, no matter what's the Cry.

That may be Conscience in the People, which is Scandal in the Minister: wherefore, in all Schismatical Rapines, I could wish all possible Favour to the Common sort of the Laity, and as much Severity to the Offending Clergy.

## SECT. II.

How to prevent Seditions arising from the Disorders of the BENCH.

WE have begun with the Church, and the Bench properly follows: which is but to give Them the Same Place in the Order of This Discourse, which they have in the Argument of it.

Corrupt Di-  
vines and  
Lawyers are in  
the forlorne of  
all Rebellions.

Was there ever any Considerable Rebellion (I do not say Revolt) That was not usher'd in by Corrupt Divines, or Lawyers, or both of Them? And tis no wonder, since upon These Two Interests depends the Grand Concern, both of our Souls, and Bodies. One Reason of their Forwardnesse may be This, that they may doe more Harme, upon Safe, and Easie Terms, then other People: Bolt a Rebellion out of a Text; De throne a King with a Moot-Point, and Execute a Bishop at a Reading. All which is done with a Wet Finger, for when a People are Discontented, tis but Picking a Scripture, or a Statute, for the Time and Purpose; and commit the Rest to Application.

These two Interests hold so Good Intelligence, it is almost Pity to part Them: and Compar'd with the Rest, (Supposing all in Disorder) They mind me of a Combination I have observ'd betwixt a Beagle, and a Grey-hound: the One Starts the Hare, and Telps, the Other Catches it, but by Consent, they part the Quarry.



But the Con-  
trary, are the  
Pillars and  
Blessings of  
Society.

As I Reckon These Men of the Robe to be the very Pests of Humane Nature, when they Degenerate from the Prime End of their Institution; So take them (on the Other side) in the Due Exercise of their Callings, they are the Blessings and the Pillars of Society. A word now to the Lawyer apart.

The Common  
Crime of Viti-  
ous Lawyers, is  
Avarice.

The Common Crime of Vicious Lawyers, is Avarice; and Those Indutments to Sedition, which (in the Chapter next fore-going This) we have divided into Corruption, Partiality, Oppression, Chargeable De-  
layes,

*lays, &c.* are but as *Severall Branches* from *That*  
*Root of Covetousness.*

Nay, take their more *Persecutions*, and *File Pro-  
 Bices*; Their *Miscinstruction of Laws*; *Misapply-  
 ing of Presidents*; *Torturing or Embroiling of  
 Records*, &c. What is All This, but *Corruption* in  
 another *Dresse*? A *Project* to *Embroile* the *Go-  
 vernment*, that They may get *Money* by *Selling* it  
 again? Or if they can procure a *Change*; They  
 make the best *Market* they can of their *Country*; The Basiſt of  
Corruptions.  
 and *Betray* it to *That Faction* that will *Give Most*  
 for it. Nay, when *That's* done, (and that *Mat-  
 ters* will come right again, in spite of them) They  
 shall *Betray* it *Back* again to the *Right owner*; at  
 once *Lamenting*, and *adoring* their *Past*, and *Profi-  
 table Transgressions*. These are the miserable fruits  
 of *Corruption*.

Others there are that *Err* through want of *Judge-  
 ment*. And That's a sad Case too; for *Mistakes*  
 coming from the *Lipps* of a *Judge*, passe for *Or-  
 dles*.

An Ignorant  
 Judge is a Dan-  
 gerous Mini-  
 ster.

Others, there are again, that *understand* the *Right*,  
 but in some Cases, dare not *own* it. And These de-  
 liver up the *People* to-day, for fear of the *King*; and  
 the *Prerogative* to-morrow, for fear of the *Sub-  
 ject*.

And so is a  
 Timorous.

From hence, it seems to me, that a Prince his  
 Chiefest Care in This Particular of the *Law*, lies in  
 a *Narrow Compass*. That is, in *securing*, and *pre-  
 serving* his *Courts* of *Judicature*, from *Corruption*; make  
 and in *Supplying* them with men of *Eminent Abi-  
 lities*, and *Conrage*. These are the *Instruments* to

make a Prince, and People Happy: nor does any Thing more Conduce to it, then the Carrying of an Even, and impartial Hand upon the Scales of Government, and Obedience. We come now to the Choice of Persons, and There the Difficulty lies.

A hard matter  
to make a good  
choice,

Some Deceive the World, by appearing Honest, then they are. Others Deceive Themselves, and are Honest only for want of Temptation. Some there are, that are Prais'd against Money, but not against Danger. In short, Where is so much Integrity as in a Prince, who is Repent too late, 'tis may be worth his while to Consider of his Choice in Time.

A Rule to  
Chuse by.

Concerning the Abilities of Persons for the Offices to which he Designs them, Common Fame, with a Little Particular Enquiry, will be sufficient; but their Integrity requires a Stricter Scrutiny. What's such a man's Honour? his Behaviour? his Temper? are not Unnecessary Questions. And upon the Whole, if he has ever Betray'd any Friend, Trust, or Interest, either for Fear, or Profit, Away with him. But if upon Tryals, either Private, or Publick, it appears, that rather then do small Injuries, he has Refus'd Great Benefits; that he has Preferr'd his Faith, and Honour, before his Life, and Fortune; This Evidence may leave for a Morall Assurance of an Honest Man. Whereas without This Personal and Particular Examination, not only the Publick Safety, but the Private Duty of a Kingdom may come to be endanger'd by a Mischoyce of Ministers.

To Reason upon This. *Hannibal* does not at all impeach the Sovereign's *absolute Freedom to Elect whom He pleases*; nor does it one *justify* the Subject, that shall presume to *Scow and Judge* the Actions of his Prince. But in Regard that *Discontentments breed Seditions*; and that *Mistakings* of This Quality may beget *Discontentments*, we Offer This *Expedient* as to That *Consequence*. And in Truth it seems to be a Kind of *Prophanation* of the Seat of *Justice*, when Hee sits upon the Bench, that deserves to hold up his hand at the Bar. To Conclude; when a Monarch comes to Discover the *Inconvenience* of such Ministers, he may Kill Two Birds with One Stone; and Consider who Recommended them. (but they may be better Kept out, then Driven out.)

Next to the *Choice of Good Persons*, Succeeds the Care of *Good Order*, when they are Chosen: Which may be Provided for, first; by Maintaining an *Intelligence* concerning the *Generall State*, and *Complexion* of their Proceedings, as to the *Publick*; (i.e. whether or no they do equal Justice betwixt King, and People) Secondly, by overwatching them in Cases of more *Private* and *Particular* *Concern*.

Let not This *Seriousness* appear either too much for a Prince his *Business*, or below his *Majesty*. Kingdoms are Lost for want of These *early Pro-  
vidences*; these *little Circumspetions*; but it costs more to Recover them. Not (in effect) is the *Trouble* at all considerable; for 'tis here, as 'twas with the *Tyrant*, that durst not Sleep for fear of having his Throat

Ha nuga Seria  
ducus in mala.



*Throat Cut.* A Mathematician comes to him, and tells him, that for so many Talents hee de secure him; and shew him such a Secret, that it should be impossible for any man so much as to design upon him without Discovery. The Tyrant was content; provided that he might be satisfy'd of the Secret, before he parted with his Money, and so takes the Cunning-man into his Cabinet. What was the Secret? but that he should give the Fellow so much Money, and pretend that he had Taught it him. This Story comes up to us. The bare Opinion of a Prince his Vigilance, saves him the Need, and Trouble of it: And Three or Four Discoveries in his whole Reign, shall gain him That Opinion.

Touching Those Abuses which Immediately direct to the Publique; (as concerning the *misconstruction of Lawyers*, &c.) they are usually couch'd under the *Salvo* of an Ambiguity. To prevent which Inconvenience, all Those Distinctions which in Scditionous times have been made use of for the Authorising, or Countenancing of Treason: might be summ'd up and Declar'd Treasonous Themselves. Such I mean, as the **Coordinate Power** of Kings, Lords, and Commons. The **Literal and Equitable Construction** of Laws. The **Person**, and **Authority** of Princes. *Singulis Major, Universis Minor*, &c. For sure it is not Reasonable, that the Clerg, and Sacred Righis of Kings, should depend upon the dubious, and Prophane Comments of the People.

A way to prevent Treasonous Mistakes.

Concerning

Concerning Grievances of a more Particular Quality; the Principal of them are Injustice, and Delay: The Former whereof, is purely the Fault of the Judge; the Other, may in some measure, and in some Constitutions, be imputed to a Defect in the Law. In This Case, the best way to prevent further Mischief, and Satisfaction for what is done already, is an Impartial Severity upon all Offenders as they are Detected: Especially, where Complaints are General, and the Injustice Notorious, for nothing less than a Publick Example, can amount to a Publick Satisfaction.

## SECT. III.

How to Prevent, or Remedy Seditions arising from the Disorders of the COURT.

WE have in the Last Chapter, Pag. 99. (concerning Seditions which may possibly arise from a Disorder d Court) stated what we intend by the Court-Interest. We have likewise Divided the Evil-Instruments, into such as either Plot Mischief, or Occasion it. We have again Subdivided the Plotters into Three Parties. The One whereof opposes the Title of the Governour; The Other, (as Directly) the Form of the Government: And there is a Third Party, that bring their Ends about, by Supplications, Fowes, Fasting and Prayer; by Forms of Piety, and Reverence: and finally; that with a Hal Master and a Kisse, Betray their Sovereign.

The Contrivers of Seditions are of Three Sorts.



The Puritan.

Concerning the Two Former, More needs not be said, then that *Force* is to be *Repell'd* by *Force*; and That, the *Monarch* is Suppos'd to have alwayes in *Readiness*, for the *Safety* of the *Government*. The *Other*, is a *Serpentine*, and *Winding Party*; that *Creals*, and *Glider* into the very *Bosome* of a *Prince*, and Then it *Clippes*, and *Strangles* him. This is a *Faction* that *Answers* to our *Fesuted Puritan*.

Yet while I separate These Three, for *Perspicuity* of *Methods*; let me not be understood, as if they would not mingle in *Complication* of *Interest*: For nothing is more *Notorious*, then that in all *Com-motions* upon pretext of *Conscience*, the *Religious Division* is still the *Receptacle* of all other *Disaffected Humours* whatsoever. He that's an *Atheist* to *Day*, becomes an *Enthusiast* to *Morrow*; where a *Crown* is the *Prize*. Only I must confesse, the *Presbyterian* plays the *Fast* and *Loose* of the *Device*, the best in the whole *World*. Let as many *Help* him as will, in *Liberty* of *Conscience* forlooth; but have a *Care* of the *Purity* of the *Gospel*, when they come to *share* with him. They may, if they please, (nay they shall be *Invited* to't) run the *bazzards* of the *Course* with him; *Venture* *Neck*, and *Body*; over *Hedge* and *Ditch*; through *Thick* and *Thin* — but yet at last, the *Devill* a *bit* of the *Quarry*.

In fine; the *Plausible Contrivers* of *Sedition* (under what *Masque* soever) are the *People* we aime at; and These are either in the *Counsell*, or *Out* of it. Sir *Francis Bacon* Divides the *Dangers* from *Within* the *Great Counsell*, into an *Over-greatnesse* in

One





what Every man wishes, and Particular can effect, (that is) to Master the Rest (Understand no only of Medlers to overthrow a Government.) The next Slide from an Aristocracy, downward; comes a little clearer yet, Some of the Crassest of Those that help'd the Peers to Cast off the King, are now as Bulie with the People to Throw off the Nobility; and Then, they are within one Step, of Confusion; from whence, the next Change brings him that can carry it from the Rest, to the Sovereignty. As arrant a Mockery, is Religion, in the Mouth of a Conspirator.

A Traytour is  
of no Religi-  
on.

Indeed it makes me smile sometime, to hear how Soberly Men will talk of the Religion of This or That Faction: as if a Traytour, or an Hypocrite were of any. And Then they cry, This is against the Principles of the Presbyterians; and That against the Principles of the Independents; when (Truly, and Charly) they are but Thus Distinguish'd; Abuse would subvert the Government, One Way; This, and that. And He that would rightly Understand them, must Read, for Presbytery; ARISTOCRACY; and DEMOCRACY; for Independency. I speak of the next Consequence, if they Prevail; not of the Ultimate Design of the Chief Leaders; for That's Anarchy. We'll drop ye a Little Story here.

No ill Story.

An Officer of the Reformation advises with an Ingenious Surgeon of my Acquaintance, about a Chief; (as he pretended) caught with a Strife. After diverse Questions how and how? The Surgeon tells his Patient, that (by his leave) the Trou-  
ble

ble he compleyns of, can be no other, then (to  
 Phrase it Modestly) a *Ladies Favour*. The good  
 man blesses himself; and still it must be a *Streyn*.  
 Why then a *Streyn* let it be: but This I'll tell you  
 Sir; The thing that Cures That *Streyn*, will Cure  
 the *Pox*. In fine; the *Officer* submits; and the  
 Surgeon does his work.

This is the Case of the *Two Factions*. They Cry  
 out, of their *Conscienc*s; but their *Disease* lyes some-  
 where else: and *Schism* is Cur'd, just as they Cure  
*Sedition*.

The Presbyte-  
 rian has gotten  
 a *Streyn*.

Nay; does it not behove a Prince, with the same  
 strictnesse to require *Submission* to a Ceremony, as  
 to a *Tax*? Or why may not a *Justice* as well re-  
 fuse to Swear *Obedience*, to the *Civill Government*,  
 as a *Minister* to the *Ecclesiastique*? What can be  
 more reasonable, then for a *Master* either to Punish,  
 or dismiss an undutiful *Servant*? Briefly, That *Mo-  
 narch* that would be Safe, must resolve to be Deaf to  
 These Religious Clamours. Alas! let but the *Ministers*  
 Begin; the *People* Bawle in Course: not that they  
 are Troubled; but they'll do't in *Rudenesse*, or *Imi-  
 tation*. They are as arrantly Taught to do't, as a  
 Friend of mine Taught his *Beagles*. Let Him Gape  
 first, and the whole Kennell falls to Howling: Let  
 Him give off, They're Quiet too: and just Thus  
 stands the Case betwixt the *Schismatical Clergy*, and  
 the *Multitude*.

A Ceremony  
 may be as well  
 impos'd as a  
 Tax.

But (it will be said) what's all This to the Cause?  
 Or is *Sedition*, Thence proceeding?

Oh very much, These Out-cries of the *Falgors* are but *False Alarms*: The *Dint* is *unexy hand*. They have their *Demagogues*, and their *Patron*; (as the late *Glorious King*, and *Mariyr* calls them) and if a Prince look well about him, in such a juncture as is here mention'd; 'tis odds, he finds some of their *Principalls*, even at his *Bare*, or *Elbow*. So that his *first Concern* is to *Inspect*, and *Purge* (where he sees Cause) his *Royall Palace*, beginning with his *Counsell*. Where (as *Sir Francis Bacon*) The *Danger* is either, the *Over-greatness* of *One*; or the *Combination* of *Diverse*: Which *Dangers* we shall *Obviate* with their *Remedies*, in *Order*.

#### Subsection I.

The Remedies of certain *hazzards* arising from the  
OVERGREATNESS OF ONE COUNSELLOR.

ONE over-great Counsellor may be *Dangerous*, *First*; in respect of His *Particular Temper*, and *Inclination*: *Secondly*; in Regard of His *Credit with his Master*: and *Lastly*; in Consideration of the *Influence of That Power*, and *Inclination upon the People*.

The *Over-great Counsellor* we here treat of, is as the *Malin Genius* of a Nation: and in Two Words, behold the *Ground*, and *Summe* of the whole *Mischief*. 'Tis either *Vice*, or *Weaknesse*; apply'd to the *Disbondur*, or *Damage*, of a *Prince*, and *People*.

Now to the application of That *Pick*, or *Weakness*. And first, what ill use may be made of the *One*, and what ill effects may proceed from the *Other*, by virtue of his *Credits* with his *Master*.

If he be *Ambitious*, Hee's plac'd upon the very *Point*, for *Popularity*. Whom can he not *Oblige*, by *Hopes*, *Rewards*, *Preferrals*? Whose *Tongue* cannot He *Charme*, either to *Speech*, or *Silence*? Whose *Reputation*, *Suit*, *Fortune*; nay in some Cases, Whose very *Life* it self, and *Liberty*, are not dependent upon his *Favour*? If This *Aspiring* Humour be accompanied with a *Sharpness* of *Judging*, a *Felicity* of *Contriving*, and an *Impulse* of *Enterprising*: The *Master* of such a *Servant* should do well to *Look about him*.

Ambition dangerous in a Favourite.

It may be Reply'd, that doubtlesse so he would, if he saw any *Reason* to apprehend his *Abuse* of That *Power*; But the *Knowledge* of the *Person*, does sufficiently warrant the *Reason* of the *Dispensation*. To which, we Answer; that though *Sovereign Princes* are not accountable to *Others*, yet they are to *Themselves*; both for the *Expedience*, and *Equity* of their *Actions*: And entering into their own *Souls*, it is very possible, that they may discover some *Incongruities* betwixt their *Affections*, and their *Convenience*. Some *Incongruities* I say; and such, as may induce the wisest *Prince*, and the most *Indulgent Master*; even toward the most *Loyal*, and *Merciful Servant*, to limit the *Graces* of his *Inclination*, to the *Rules* and *Respects* of his *Office*, and to be wary, least while he *Divide* his *Heart* with his

A Caution.

Friend,

Friend, he share also his Authority with his Subject: Therein, both *Endangering Himself*, and *Grieving his People*.

To Conclude; it is *Great Prudence*, in *Publique Affairs* to commit *Little* to *Hazzard*: and it is no *small Hazzard*, to expose a *Favourite* to *strong Temptations*.

Where there are *Servants* that will employ their *Masters Bonny* against *Himself*; (and of such only, we speak) if the *Design* be to *supplant the Sovereign*, many *Remedies* may be found out, to *frustrate That Ambition*. Nay, (as I have already hinted) whether there be such a *Design*, or *not*; 'tis good to provide against the very *Possibility* of it. For, it is *fitter*, that the *Publique* should be *indebted* for it's *well-being*, to the *Care of the Prince*; than to the *Honesty of the Favourite*.

Ambition does better in a Souldiour, than in a Counsellour.

*Ambitious Natures* do better in the *Field*; then in the *Court*; and better yet *Abroad*, then at *Home*. If they will *advance*, they grow *Dangerous* for their *Power*; if they receive a *Check*, they become so for their *Malice*: whence it comes to pass, that we see *Few Seditions* without a *Malecontent* of *This Quality*, in the *Head* of them. These are a sort of *People*, of whom a *Prince* cannot be too wary. But we are here to provide against the *Ambition* of a *Person Rais'd by Favour*, not *Aspiring*: and from such a one, the *Perill* is *greater*, by reason of the *means* he has, both to *Compasse his Ends*, and to *Disguise* them.

Sir Francis Bacon proposes the Mating of One Ambitious Person with Another; and in extremities, the Puzzling of him, with an Enterchange of Favours, and Disgraces, that he may not know what to Expect. Courtes, no doubt, advisable, to put an Insolent Favourite to a stand; if it may be as Safe to Disoblige him, without Disarming him: but That depends much upon the Complexion of the Person, according as he is Bold, or Fearfull.

There is not any thing which more fortifies, and establishes a Monarch, then the disposal of all Offices, and Charges of Trust, by his particular Choyce, and Direction, without the Interpose of any Publique Recommendation: Nor can he transfer That Care to his Great Counsellour without a great share of his Power. And here's the Difference; the one way, they are the honourable dependencies of the Prince; and the Other way, they are the suspected Creatures of the Favourite: who by This Indulgence, makes One Party at Present, and Another in Expectation.

It is the Interest of a Prince to dispose of Offices by Particular Discretion.

A Warynesse in This Particular, breaks the Neck of his Design.

It is good also for a Prince fairly, and Publiquely to Refuse him some Requests, and where the Suit is too bold, to Check him for Others: That the World may see, that there are Some things which he cannot obtain; and Others, which he must not Dare to Ask. Whereas, if he carries all without Reserve, the Majesty of the Sovereign is lost in the Power of the Favourite. The Advice of King Charles the Martyr, to his Sacred Majesty now in Being, shall put an End to This Point.

'Ezr. Barh.  
Pag. 240.

Never repose so much upon any mans single Counsell, Fidelity, and Discretion, in menaging Affairs of the First Magnitude (that is, Matters of Religion, and Justice) as to Create in your self, or others, a Diffidence of your own Judgment, which is likely to be alwayes more Constant, and Impartiall to the Interests of the Crown and Kingdome, than any mans.

How to crush  
an Insolent  
Favourite.

This may suffice to Prevent a dangerous Over-greatnesse: but if it be found Necessary to Crush it; (as in case of a bold, and manifest Transgression of Duty, and Violation of Law) Something like an English Parliament does it best; and much better to be promoted by the People, then by the Sovereign.

The Danger of  
a Favourite  
that upholds a  
Faction.

A Second Danger, is, when a Prime Minister employes his Credit to uphold a Faction: and it is the more Dangerous, by the hardnesse to know what it is. As whether it be Ambition, Corruption, Popularity; or, in fine, some other Secret Interest. It may be, they have Need of One-another.

And menage of  
his Design.

Nothing can be more perillous then This Correspondence, when a proper Instrument has the menage of it. *Oh how he Detests the Faction!* But yet Truly in such, and such Cases; and for such and such Persons; and upon This or That Nick of Time; if Matters were Order'd so and so. — And Then, the



the Insolence of a Schisme is Palliated with the Simplicity of a Scruple: and for such Cases as will bear no Other Plea, is found out the Colour of an indisputable Necessity. Not to prosecute the severall Artifices, by which some Truths are Disguised, others Suppress'd: Those Suits Promoted; These Complaints Smother'd: and finally; by which, both Men, and Things are quite misrepresented.

Kings cannot possibly see all things with their own Eyes, nor hear all things with their own Ears, so that they must commit many great Trusts to their Ministers. The Hazard then is Great, when the Confident of the Monarch is the Advocate for the Enemies of the State. But above all, if he be Surly and Impertinent to the Try'd Servants of the Crown; That looks like a Design, to Introduce one Party to Betray the Prince, and to discourage or Disable Another from serving him.

We are here upon a Supposition, that a Master may be mistaken in a Servant: and that a Servant may abuse his Credit with his Master. In case This be; What Remedy?

Supposing the Favourite still in Credit, we must Imagine the Sovereign still in the Mistake: and therefore not expect a Remedy as to the Person, but rather fetch Relief from some General Rules of Government: which shall neither disoblige the Favourite, if he be deserving; nor expose the Prince, if he be not. But This is best done in the Beginning of a Kings Reign, then in the Middle of

it; better upon Judgment of State, then Urgency of Occasion.

How to dis-  
point an Am-  
bitious Desgr.

The Certain help is a fit Choyce of Officers, and Ser-  
vants. Especially in such Places as have Numerous  
Dependencies; for otherwise, Three or Four Persons  
Leaveen the Court; half a Dozen more, the Souldiery;  
and in Conclusion, a Great Favourite, with a few  
select Instruments of his own making, may at his Plea-  
sure seize the Government. This was the Rise of the  
Second Race of Kings in France.

Favour's ne-  
cessary to the  
Prince,

Yet God forbid, that Princes should make Them-  
selves, and their Privadoes miserable, by Eternall,  
Causelesse, and Unquenchable Fealonsies: That Kings  
should be Debarr'd That Blessing, and Relief, with-  
out which, Life's a Plague, and Royalty a Burthen.  
That is; the Use and Comfort of a Friend: [to  
whom (as the Oraculous St. Albans) he may Im-  
part, his Grieffs, Foyes, Fears, Hopes, Suspensions,  
Counsels, and whatsoever lies upon his Heart, to op-  
presse it, in a kind of Civill Shrift, or Confession:]  
and from whence, (with the same Authour) he  
may reap, [Peace of affections, and Support of  
Judgment.]

and desirable  
to the People.

Nay, take the Subject's Interest in Too; what  
can be more Desirable, then for a Prince to have  
a Watchfull, Wise, Faithfull Counsellour; and the  
People, a Firme Prudent Patriote, in the same Noble  
Person? Accursed be the man that envies Either.  
Yet Here's a Line still drawn betwixt Majesty and  
Kindnesse; which the One cannot passe, without Di-  
minution, nor the Other transgresse without Pre-  
sumption. In fine; the Right of Placing, or  
Displacing

*Displacing Officers*, lies on the *Kings side* of the *Chalkè*, and falls under the *Head of Reward or Punishment*.

King *James* in the *Second Book* of his *Banishment*, delivers *Excellent Advises* to *Prince Henry*, concerning the *Choyce of Servants*.

First; See that they be of a *Good Fame*, and *Without Blemish*.

Concerning  
the Choice of  
Servants.

Next; See that they be *Indued with such honest Qualities*, as are meet for such *Offices* as ye ordeyn them to serve in; that your *Judgment* may be known in *Employing* every man according to his *Gifts*.

Let them be  
Honest and  
Fit.

Thirdly; I Charge you, according to my *Fatherly Authority*, to preferr *Specially* to your *Service*, so many as have truly served Me, and are able for it. — For if the *Haters* of your *Parents* cannot Love you, it followes of *Necessity*, that Their *Lovers* must Love you.

Of approved  
Loyalty to the  
Father.

Chuse your *Servants* for your *own Uses*, and not for the *Use* of Others: and hearken not to *Recommendations*, more for serving in effect, their *Friends* that put them in, then their *Masters* that admit them.

Not upon Re-  
commendations.

Publique Na-  
tures for Pub-  
lique Places.

Especially take good heed to the choyce of your Servants, that you preferr to the Offices of the Crown and Estate: for in Other Offices, ye have only to take heed to your Own Weale, but These concern likewise the Weale of your People; for the Which, ye must be Answerable to God. Be carefull to Prefer none, as ye will be answerable to God, but for their Worthynesse.

Not Oare to all  
Purposes.

Employ every man as ye think him Quali-  
fy'd; but Use not One in all Things, lest he  
wax Proud, and be Envy'd by his Fellowes.

These were the Directions of a Prince, then whom  
no Man spake more upon Experience: and very  
hardly shall a Sovereign that takes This Course,  
even upon any Accompt, Miscarry.

Let a Prince  
set his Confi-  
dent his  
Bounds, afore-  
hand.

Another Profitable Course might be for a Prince  
to set his Favourite his Bounds, afore-hand. As for  
the Purpose; that in such and such Particulars, con-  
cerning Law, and Religion, or wherein his Pec-  
uliar Interest is concern'd; he never presume to  
move him above Once; and that in certain Other  
Cases, he presume not to move him at all. By  
these means, the Favourite is minded of his Duty,  
the Prince of his Dignity: and Both Secur'd; the  
One, from the Hazzard of Granting too much;  
the Other from the Temptation of Asking it. So  
far from being Impracticable, is This Proposition;  
that

that, on the contrary, 'tis *Obvious* and *Easie*. As for Instance.

There are *some* things which a *King* cannot *Grant* as a *Christian*; Others, which he cannot *Grant* as a *King*: and *some* again, which he cannot *Grant* as a *Wise man*. So that Reserving to himself, a *Freedom* (even from *Solicitation*) in These *Niceties* of *Conscience*, *Honour*, and *Convenience*; the *Favourite* may make his *Best* of the *Rest*. The Relation betwixt a *Governour*, and his *People*, is like That of *Man*, and *Wife*: A man may take his *Friend* into his *Armes*, but not into his *Bed*. To make an end of *This*; That *Favourite* that presses his *Master* to any thing which evidently exposes him, to *Contempt* or *Hatred*, does probably *Design* his *Ruine*.

In Points of  
Conscience,  
Honour, and  
Convenience,  
let not a Fa-  
vourite presse  
the Sovereign.

To run through the whole *Body* of *Humane Frailties*, would be too *Tedious*. Let it suffice, that Those *Vices* (whether *Devillish*, or *Brutish*) which in a *Private man*, are *Mischievous*, or *Shamefull*, are much more so in a *Person* arm'd with *Power* to *Excuse* the *Malice*, and *qualifi'd* with an *Eminence*, to *Recommend* a *lewd Example*.

Where a *Great Trust* is committed to a *Weak Person*; It matters not much to the *Publique*, whether he be *True*, or *False*: for *Futility*, in him, has the Effect of *Treachery* in another: The *One* *Blabs* his *Masters* *Secrets*, and the *Other* *Betrays* them.

The *Third Hazard* from the *Over-greatness* of *One Counsellour*, arises from the *Influence* of his *Power*, and *Inclination* upon the *People*: And *That*, either

The Danger of  
Over-great-  
ness as to the  
People.

either as to their *Love*, or *Hatred*. The *Popular* Part we have already done with : (that is, so far as it concerns the making of a Party to *Himself* ; and the *Remedies* of *That Danger* ) That which remains, shall be divided into *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and *Mis-advice*.

A Proud man  
in Power.

It is seldome seen, that a *Proud* man in *Power*, is not withall *Insulent*, *Vain*, and *Cruell*. The *first* to his *Superiours*, where they will suffer it : The *Next* to his *Equals*, till they are *Sick* of it : and the *Third*, to his *Inferiours*, till he is *Hated* for it.

A Favourite of This Temper, makes it his *Glory* to be thought the *Dictator* to his Master : *Disputing*, *Excusing*, *Cavilling*, upon *Mandates* and *Directions*, (as Sir *Francis Bacon*) His *style* is, *Ego & Rex Mene* ; and the Consequence of This Boldness is to lessen the *Sovereign* in the Eyes of his *Subjects*.

Easily crush'd.

It is harder for a Prince to *Discover* This *Audacious Humour*, then to *Crush* it ; let but the King withdraw his *Favour* for one *Moment*, and of himself, he falls below the *Scorn* of Those he lately *Trampled* on.

A Covetous  
Great man.

If he be *Covetous* ; The *Person* of the *Prince*, and the *Honour* of the *Nation* are expos'd to *Sale* : and the People *Squeez'd* to fill his *Coffers*, till they have not *Bread* left for their own *Bellies*. This brings the *Multitude* to *Starve*, or *Tumult* ; and There's a *Kingdome* Swallow'd by a *Favourite*.

We here suppose the *Worst*; and yet even These *Extremities*, are not quite *Deplorate*, and *Helplesse*. *Sponges* will *Sque*, as well as *Suck*; and 'tis but the *Monarch's* sending of the *Popular Assembly* in quest of the *Publique Treasure*, to fetch it up again.

Now whence proceeds this *Mischief*, but from *Misadvice*? not want of *Prudence*, but of *Enformation*: or which is *worse*; *from Tales* fram'd to the *Passion*, and *Advantage* of the *Teller*. Hee's made an *Enemy* to the *State*, that's not a *Friend* to This or That *Design*. *Dangers* are *Pretended*, where there are *none*; and *Security*, where there *are*: And (which is the *Curse* of These *Ill Offices*) the *Wiseſt*, and the *Braveſt* of *Princes*, are subjected to *Deluſion*, and *Surprize*, in *Common* with their *Contraries*. Could *Solomon's Wiſdome* tell him which of the *Two Harlots* was the *Mother* of the *Child*, without a further means of *Deciſion*? Or Could *Caſar's Courage* oppoſe the *Fate* of the *Senate*? In *Matters of Fact*, *Princes*, as well as *Others*, are to be *Inſtructed* by *Reports*; and if from a *Perſon* whom they have *Reason* to believe, they receive *Notice* of a *Matter* whereupon they have not *Time* to *Deliberate*; their *Proceedings* are to be *Directed* by the *Faireſt Appearance* of that *Relation*. In ſine, if a *Servant* will betray his *Maſter*, there's no avoyding it, for he muſt *Truſt ſomebody*. [Remember well (ſayes Sir Francis Bacon in a Letter of Advice to the late Duke of Buckingham) the great *Truſt* you have undertaken, you are as a *Continual Centinell*, always to ſtand upon your *Watch*, to give him (the King) *True Intelligence*. If you *Flatter* him, you *Betray*

The Miſchief  
of Falſe Intel-  
ligence.

Good Advice  
is a Counſel-  
lour.

him; If you Conceal the Truth of Those things from him which concern his Justice, or his Honour, (although not the Safety of his Person) you are as dangerous a Traytor to his State, as he that rises in Arms against him.]

If such as only withdraw their Allegiance from their Prince, are so Criminal; how much are They to blame then, that, where his Conscience, Life, and Dignity, lie all at Stake; abuse, and mispossess him! That cry; Not That way Sir, for the Lords sake, go This way rather! and so Betray him, from his Guards into an Ambush.

But Centaurs are scarce more Monsters in Nature, then These men are in Manners; and I may seem perhaps very hard driven for want of work, to employ my time in the searching out of Remedies, for Mischiefs so improbable. Truly His Conceipt, that imputes the Omission of a Law against Patricides, to a Presumption that the Crime would never be committed, does not at all divert me from Believing, that Prudence is to Provide for the Worst; and Nothing left to Chance, that may be Secur'd by Counsell. Wherefore, I Proceed to my Prevention.

Since the Only Certainty of what is Done, or Said, comes from the Eye, or Ear; and that the Sovereign cannot be every where; so that he must either give Credit to Relation; or know nothing of Affairs at a Distance; let us Consider, by what means a Prince may most probably escape the Snarcs of a Mis-exformer.

Prudence provides for the worst.



To advise upon the *Choyse* of the *Instruments*, is but to say, *Choyse an Honest man, and hee'll not betray you*: And not to let any man deceive you *Twice*, is but the *After-game* of *Wisdom*; for the *First Error* may be *Fatall*. We must look out some other *Course* then, and a *Better* I know none, then a *Stritt Justice*, and *Severity*, of *Reward*, and *Punishment*. A *False Intelligencer* is as bad as a *Spy*. Wherefore, let a *Prince* suppress *Calumnies*, and encourage *Accusations*, that he may not take his *Friends* for his *Enemies*, and his *Enemies* for his *Friends*. What can be a *Greater Injury* to the *Sovereign's Honour*, then by a *false Story*, to cause him *Love* where he should almost *Hate*, and *Hate* where he should *Love*? *Punish* where he should *Reward*, and *Reward* where he should *Punish*? It breaks the *Hearts* of *Loyalty*, This sad *Mistake*, and strengthens the *Hands* of *Treason*. Who would dare to put These *Affronts* upon *Majesty*, and *Innocence*, if upon *Detection*, the *Scandall* were made as dangerous to the *Reporter*, as the *Consequence* to the *Sufferer*? And This we take for a *sufficient Mean*, to keep *Malitious Buzes* from the *Ears* of *Princes*.

Reward and  
Punishment  
keep People in  
Order.

But This is but the work *half-done*; for there are certain *Truths* as *Necessary* to be *Told*, as are These *Calumnies* to be *Conceal'd*; and where the *Under-taker* of the *Office*, runs a far greater *Risque* to serve his *Prince*, then the *Other* does to *Ruin* him. These *Offices* are *discharg'd*, by *Merry* Persons, for *Reward*; and by the *Worthier*

Honest Truths  
are Dangerous.

Sort, for Reverence-Sake, and Duty. So that betwixt the Fear of Punishment, the Hope of Benefits, and the pure Integrity of Those that stand firm without considering Either; a Prince may easily secure himself of Good Advice, and Right Intelligence; and That, (at least within Himself) amply suffices to his Establishment.

That Kings are Men; who Doubts? And 'tis as much Their Duty to Remember it, as 'tis Their Subjects, not to be too Prying into the Slips of Their Humanity. Their Clergy are to Prescribe to their Souls; Their Physicians, to their Bodies; and their Counsellours are to Advise in Point of Government: But 'tis within the Pale of every Private mans Commission, to offer his Intelligence. As for Example; Suppose a Counsellour of State denies the Kings Supremacy. Shall it be counted Sawcinesse in a Particular Person to acquaint the Monarch with it? Wee'll make an end with This. That State is in an ill Condition, where he that would save his Prince, must ruine himself: and where One Party is bolder to do the King Mischief, then the Other is to do him Good. It is now high time to take another Stepp; and wee'll stay but a Moment upon it.

A Case put.

Subjection

## Subsection II.

*How to frustrate a Combination of Diverse Counsellours.*

**T**HE Dangers of a Combination in Diverse Counsellours are, in Respect of their Power, and Privileges; their Credits; their Dependences; (either by Office, or Expectation) Their Opportunities of Concealing, or Protecting their Friends. And finally, in Respect of their Intelligence betwixt the State, and the Faction.

This Confederacy is so liable to be Discover'd, so dangerous to be Suffer'd, and so easie to be disorder'd, that it is scarce worth the while, to speak to so Manifest an Inconvenience. In Little; if they are not Removed as they are found Faulty; Disgrac'd, as they appear Bold; or Secluded from such Consultations as properly concern the Difference in Question: It will be a hard matter for a Prince to struggle with a Faction that is assisted by so many Advantages. If it were nothing else but the meet point of Intelligence; it were enough to Endanger the Crown; to have a Faction privy to all the Counsells, Resolves, Deliberations, and Necessities of the Monarch.

In the Lower Region of the Court, we have supposed Three sorts of People, that may Occasion Great Inconveniences: to wit, Insulting Beggars; Corrupt Officers; and Ill Paymasters. I might have

The Lower  
Region of the  
Court.

Four or Five  
Beggars in  
Chief.

added *Two more*; that is, Men of *Ill Lives*, and of *Ill Principles*. The *First* of these *Five*; I thought to have plac'd in the *Upper Division*; but it *Commonly* belongs to *Both*; only *These* *Big Officers* in the *Other More*: and to speak the truth of the business, where This Trade is in Fashion, it may be observ'd, that there are not above *Four or Five Beggars in Chief*, and the *Rest* *Bag under Them*, as it falls out sometimes in *Popular Representatives*; A *few* *Get up*, and the *Rest* *Truckle*.

Where This Humour is much Indulg'd, the Consequence of it, is not only *Faction*, within the *Walls*, but a *General Discontentment*, and *Necessity* throughout the *Nation*: For when the *Ordinary* wayes of *Profit* are dispos'd of, *Recourse* is had to *Projects*, and *Invention*; which, if not very tenderly managed, leaves the *King* a *sad Loser* at the *Foot* of the *Account*. Beside, that it *Anticipates* the *Prince* his *Generosity*, and by *Enslaving*, rather than *Obeying*, takes away the *Freedom* of his *Choice*, and *Bounty*.

The way for a *Prince* to *Help This*, is either to put a *Stop* upon the *Solitor*, or a *Restrain* upon his *Proper Goodness*; and even where he is *Resolved* to *Give*, not to do it *Suddenly*; lest he appear to *Give* for the *Asking*, without considering the *Merit*. Let him further have a *Particular Care* of *Persons* that grow *Proud* upon his *Favours*: The same weakness of *Mind* that makes them *Proud*, will quickly make them *Savage* too; and the reason is, *they think they have got the better of him*.

Corrupt

*Corrupt Officers are Another Pest of a Court; and Bane of a State: unless timely look'd after; and Then, the Publique may be the Better for them. And 'tis no ill Policy in some Cases, to let Them Squeeze for a while, that they may be worth the Squeezing Themselves: for no Supply is more acceptable to the Generality, then That which is Levy'd upon their Oppressors.*

Corrupt Officers a General Pest.

The miserable Consequences of *Ill-Payment*, we have briefly touch'd upon, *Pag. 184.* The Reason of *Ill-Payment* is commonly *Ill-Pay*; and *Many* must needs get *Nothing*, when a *Few* get *All*: from which vast *Inequality*, arise *Factions*, and *Wars*. The best Remedy for This Evil, is, *first* to Enable Them to *Pay*, and *then* to leave them to the *Law* if they *Refuse*. For *Protection* are only so far Necessary to the Dignity of a Court, as they consist with the *Peace*, and *Justice* of a Nation: that the *Privilege* appear not an *Affront* to the *Law*.

Ill-Pay the reason of Ill-Payment.

When a Court *Payer Ill*, it had need *Love Well*; for when *People* are *Poor*, they grow *Conscientious*; and for want of *Many* apply themselves to hearken after *Religion*: The *Severest* of all Reformers being a *Necessitous Multitude*. Especially, let them absteyn from *Costly Sinnes*; for to *Expend much*, and *Pay nothing*, is a most distastfull *Incongruity*. To conclude; the *General Rule* of a Court, is the *Example* of the *Prince*; whom they will be sure to *follow* in his *Errors*, and at least *Imitate*,

Want of Money makes People Religious.

*Imitate, in his Virtues: Yet where some Particular Extravagance, there will be also Need of his Severity.*

The Ill-principled Councillor.

We come now to that Canker of the Government, under the Shadow of the Governour; the Ill-Principled Councillor: who not only causes Sedition, but is himself the very Tincture of it. You must Expect to see all look Pale, and Witherd, where This Worme lies sucking at the Root. Can a Prince be safe, that's serv'd by his Enemies? Or a People happy when the Soul of the Publique is in Danger? Yet, in some Cases, there may be Reason of State; and That known only to the Sovereign, for which some Persons, in Exception to This Generall Rule, may be admitted. Saying Those very Individuals, it may behove the Prince not to let any one of the Rest escape; without a Strict Enquiry; both by what Means, and to what likely End: they are There Plac'd, and Entertain'd. Which if he does, and Early too, before the whole Lump Has taken the Leaven, 'tis more then an Even Lay, that hee'll find Reason to Remove Them. Proceed we now to the Camp.

Scd.

## Sect. IV.

*How to Prevent Disorders arising from the  
CAMP.*

**T**He Dangers from the *Camp*, are Prin- Dangers from  
cipally These Three. *Mutiny, Revolt, or Po-* the Camp  
*pular Risings.* (provoked by the *Oppression, or*  
*Insolence of the Souldiery*) Of These, in their  
*Order.*

*Mutinies* may be Caus'd by *Want of Pay*; some How Mutinies  
defect of *Discipline*; by *New-Modelling*; *Dis-* may be caus'd.  
*banding*; *Disgrace, &c.* — And all These *Dis-*  
*orders* may be procur'd by the Artifice of some Par-  
ticular Persons that aime at an Advantage by  
them.

That Prince that Rayles an Army which he cannot *Pay Himself*, raises it (in effect) for somebody else that *can*. In short, a very great Hazzard it is, to have the *Souldiery* Dependent upon any *Other Interest* then That of the *Monarch*. Where it so falls out, that a Prince lies subjected to the *Double Inconvenience*, both of *Having an Army*, and of *Wanting Money*; Let him be sure of a most *Exquisite Choyce of Officers*, both for *Honesty*, and *Ability*: That the *Body* likewise may be *well Chosen*, and *well Govern'd*. For he has enough to do, that undertakes to keep his *Troupes in Order*, without *Pay*; but if they want *Affection* too, the Point is *Desperate*. This is the *Nick of Danger*, and *Temptation*; for a *Necessitous Army*, of *This Mixture*, is any mans

D d

Mony

Money that will offer for it: Wherefore in such a Juncture, a *Monarch* cannot be too wary, of all *Popular* and *suspected Practices*. Let him be *sparing* also, even in his *Personall*, and *Private Expenses*, at such a time as This: For *Military Spirits* are apter to take fire than *Other People*; and to distrust the *Kindnesse* of their *Master*, if they observe that he has *Money* for his *Pleasures*, and *none* for his *Servants*. An *Observation*, possibly neither *Fit*, nor *True*: However, when men are *discontented*, they look upon *small kindneses* as *Nothing*, and they see *Injuries Double*.

Good Pay will  
bear good  
Discipline.

The next hazzard is, upon the Point of *Discipline*; which, in an *unpaid Army*, can very hardly be *Preserv'd*, but by the *Exceeding Worthinesse*, and *Prudence* of the *Officers*. Nor by That neither, beyond their *Interest* and *Credit* of *Persuading*: for *Punishment* were *Tyranny* without *Wages*.

Modelling and  
Disbanding  
are dangerous.

The *New-Modelling* of an *Army* is also a tickle *Undertaking*: and so is the *Disbanding*. The *Former* is the *sharper Disobligation*; but 'tis but *Personall*: The *Latter* is the more *Dangerous*, for it *Destroys* the *Trade*: And the *Perill* is either from the *Influence* of some *Chief Officers* in the *One*; or from a *Disposition* common to all *Military*, as well as *Naturall bodies*, in the *Other*: that is, an *Aversenesse to Dissolution*. Both the *One* and the *Other*, are a work to be dispatch'd with as *much Care*, and with as *little Noise*, as possible: very *Tenderly*, and by *Degrees*.



If any Trouble be Apprehended from the Displacing of some *Particulars*, (as he may possibly resent the *Loss* of *Power*; or the *Disgrace* of being singled out to lose it after such a *Manner*) 'tis but Casting out to him the *Lure* of a *Better Office*, or of a *Higher Preferment*: wherein he may be more *Serviceable* to *Himself*, and lesse *Dangerous* to the *Publique*. Or if he be too *Crafty* to stoop to *That*; the way is to begin with his *Dependencies*. This leaves him *Naked*; and the *Other*, *Satisfy'd*: At least in *shew*, since to the *World* he appears rather *Exalted*, then *Ejected*.

*Disbanding* is a *nicer piece of Business*: The very *Word* is scarce to be *Mention'd*, till the *Thing* is *Done*. For 'though the *State* may be *Judge* when 'tis *Convenient* to *Raise an Army*; the *Souldiery* are commonly the *Judges* when 'tis time to *lay it down again*. A *Good Preparatory* to This, is *Modelling*, and *Dispersing*, before they have the wind of the *Design*; to prevent their *uniting* against it. And by *Degrees*; *One Regiment at a time*; to keep the *Rest Quiet*, in hope of *Continuing*. Let *That* be done by *Let* too; for the *Losing Party* will sooner *forgive a Mischance*, then an *Unkindnesse*. Touching *Mutinies* that proceed either from opinion of *Disgrace*; dispute concerning *Precedency*, *Command*, *Provision*, *Quarter*, &c. they may be *referr'd* to want of *Discipline*.

The *Causes of Revolts*, may be as many as of *Dis-* The *Causes of*  
*contents*: But the *Principal*, are either *Fear*, *De-* Revolts.  
*spaire*, *Revenge*, or *Inconstancy* in the *Common-*  
*Souldiery*.

*Souldiery*. And they may likewise be Procur'd, either by the *Ambition*, or *Corruption* of the *Chief Officers*.

A good Choice  
is the best Security  
against  
a Revolt.

The best *Security* against These *General Defections*, is in the *Original Election*, and *Constitution* of the *Army*. Wherefore let Heed be taken (as near as may be) even to the *finesse* of the *meanest Private Souldiour*: which in a fair degree may be attein'd, by good choyce of *Valiant, Prudent, Vigilant, and Faithful Officers*. Why should a *Kingdome* be hazarded for a *Trifle*? How small a matter added to either side carries an *Equall Ballance*! A *Word*, a *Thought*, an *Imagination*, a *Mistake* turns the *Fortune* of the *Day*, and *Decides the Battle*. Is any thing more ordinary then a *Panique Terrour*, in a *Croud of People*? which, as *Mr. Hobbs* hints in his *Leviathan*, is only an *Apprehension of Danger*, in the first man that *Runs*; the *Rest*, *Fearing*, and *Running* by example, every man supposing his *Fellow* to know why. At This Rate, *Ten Cowards* may destroy *Twenty Thousand Valiant men*.

Against *Despair*: Arguments are best upon the *Place*; *Revenge* may be *Prevented* by a *Generous*, and *Military Severity*. So that they shall neither have any *Provocation* to the *Attempt*, nor *Security* in the *Execution*: But against Their *Inconstancy* there is no *Remedy*.

The mischieves which may arrive upon the account of *Ambition*, or *Corruption*, are scarce to be *Prevented*, but by chusing Persons of an *Impregnable Fidelity*; or Otherwise, the *Fairest Bidder* carries it. And against *Popular Risings*, nothing better

better then a *Strict Discipline*, and an *Impartial Justice* betwixt the *Souldiery* and the *Country*. It does well also, to *Interesse Both Parties*, (*Civill*, and *Military*) as fairly as possible, in the *Common Care* of the *Publique*: For a *Pure Military Force* has the *Face* rather of an *Enemy*, then of a *Guard*: But where *Persons of Eminent Repute*, and *Integrity* in the *Country* are joyned in *Commission* with others as *eminent for Martial Affaires*, *Both sides are satisfy'd*, and the *Common Good* better *Provided for*.

## SECT. V.

*How to Prevent, or Remedy Seditions arising from the CITY.*

WHERE the *Metropolis* is not well *Season'd*, and in good *Order*, *Many*, and *Great* are the *Advantages* it has to *Disturbe a Government*. It has *Men*, *Money*, and *Armes* alwayes at hand. But yet let a *Prince*, in his *Greatest Distresse*, have a *Care* how he *Abandons* it; for 'tis by much a *more dangerous Enemy* at a *Distance*, then at *Home*.

The Danger of an ill order'd City.

The *Ordinary Pretenses* of a *Troubled City*, are either concerning *Religion*, *Oppression*, *Privileges*, or *Poverty*, but still 'tis *Ambition* that sets the *Wheel* going; and it is the *Monarch's yielding* at first, that *destroys* him in the *End*. For while the *Party* is *Tender*, and *Wavering*; the *Humour* *Corrigible*, and the *Authority* of the *Prince*. not as yet either *exposed* by *Patience*, or *Prophan'd* by *Popular Contemps*, and the *Insolencies* of the *Rabble*; Then is

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the time, to cut off all Possibility of Sedition. Murmurings are but the Smoak of Rebellion; the Fire's already in the Straw, but easily smother'd: That is, if seasonably look'd after: for if it break forth into a Blaze, All the Buckets in the Town will hardly Quench it. The very first Mutterings against the Government, are but a pretty way of putting the Question; as who should say, Sir, May we Rebel? And the Forbearance of the Prince, seems to Answer them: Yes; Ye may. And Then, to work they go.

Pretext of Religion is a dangerous and wicked Quarrell.

Is there a God?

First, upon Religion: the most Dangerous, and the most wicked Quarrell in Nature. Is there a God? Or, Is there None? Let any Reasonable Rebel, whether Atheistique, or Religious, answer me. If a God there be; Upon what Nation will he powre out the fierceness of his Wrath; Upon what Heads will he employ his Thunder? If not upon That Nation, where his Divinity is made a Stale, His Majesty Affronted in all his Attributes: And upon Those Heads, that entitle the Basest of Corruptions to his Immaculate Purity; and the Dictates of the Devill, to the Inspirations of the Blessed Spirit.

Or is there None?

Now to Those that say in their Heart, There is No God: They'll yet allow the Political Convenience of persuading the People otherwise. So that where This Freedom in Matters of Religion is permitted to the Multitude: Either the Abuse draws down a Vengeance from Heaven, or the Superstitious League among the People unites a Party against the Sovereign.

To

To deal frankly; *All Seditions* are to be Imputed to *Misgovernment*: To the want of *Early Care* in the *Magistrate*. *One Man begins*; *He Imparts* himself to *Others*; *They Confer* with *Their Interests*, and so the *Mischief Branches* it self, till it comes to *Overspread* a Nation. How *easie* a matter is it, to *Smother* a *Spark* in the *Tinder-Box*? A little *Harder*, to *blow out* a *Candle*: *Harder yet*, to *put out* the *Fire*. In short, when the *Town* is in a *Flame*, *thank Him* that *neglected* the *first Spark*.

All Seditions proceed from Misgovernment.

The Prince that would prevent *Schismaticall Seditions*, in a *City*, must *begin* with the *Clergy*, and *assure* himself of the *Pulpit*. To say 'tis *Dangerous*; may in some Cases be a *Truth*. But *Dangerous* as it is; If it be *more so*, to let them *Alone*, *What signifies That Objection*? Suppose the *Hazzard* almost *desperate*, on the *One* side: But there's a *never-failing Certainty* on the *Other*: *Here 'tis Hard*; *There 'tis Impossible*. It is *Necessary* also to *Suppress* *Conventions*, *Pamphlets*, and all other *Irregularities*, which either *Draw People together*, or *Unite* them, in *Order* to a *Separation*.

Begin with the Clergy to prevent Schisme.

In a *Particular* maner, let heed be taken, that the *Magistracy* of the *City*, consist of *Persons Well-affected* to the *Government* of the *Church*: And if they *Struggle*, let them be *timely Taught*, That the *Liberty* of their *Charter*, does not *discharge* the *Bond* of their *Allegiance*. This *Strictness* ought to be *indispensable*; for it is not to be *Expected*, that *One Schismatic* should *Punish Another*.

Let the Magistracy be well-affected.

The

Oppression  
procur'd by Ill  
Instruments.

The *Second* Grievous Complaint is *Oppression*; and whether it be *True* or *False*, let it be *strongly* *Urg'd*, and *Credited*, 'tis the same thing.

*Some* *Oppressions* are *Procur'd* at the Instance of certain *Ill Instruments* about the *Sovereign*; on purpose to stir up the *People* against him. And This is done, by shewing how *Other Princes* hamper *Their Capitall Cities*: Never considering, that the same manner of *Governing* will no more fit all *Varieties* of *Custom*, *Temper*, and *Scituation*, then the same *Doubles* and *Hose* will fit all *Bodies*. And then they Cry, *This Damn'd City must be Humbled, and Taken down*. 'Tis very Right; but This must be spoken *sofly*, and *done warily*. For to *Levell* the *Menance* at the *City*, in stead of the *Delinquent*, is a great *Mistake*. In such a *Heat* as This, a *Prince* needs no more then *Three or Four Churlish, and Rash Officers*; *Two or Three Spitefull, and Illegall Actions*, to bring his *Royalty* in danger. Briefly; a *Mean* there is; betwixt *Fury*, and *Slumber*; and equally ruinous to *Princes*, are *Those Counsels* that lead to either of These *Extremes*.

May not That very thing which These people pretend they aime at, be done by *Gentle, Legall, and Familiar means*? Let them *Chuse their own Officers*; That pleases the *City*: But 'tis the *Publique Care* to see the *Choice* be *Honest*: and that secures the *Prince*. On the *One* side, no *Clemency* can be too great, that stands with the *Rule of Government*: On the *Other* side, no *Severity* too *strict*, in Case of a *Contumacy* that *Crosses* it.

Burthen-



*Exorbitant Taxes* are many times a *Great Complaint*, and sometimes a *Just Proclamation*, or *Heed* yet they are, according to the *various Humours* of the *Prince*, and the *different Exigencies of Times*, and *Occasions*; Nay, and according to the differing *Disposition* in the *People* at severall times, to *understand* them. *Publique Necessities* must be *Supply'd*; and the *Supreme Magistrate* is the *Judge of Publique Necessities*. Yet still where a more then *Ordinary Levy* is *Necessary*, the *Ordinary way of Raising* it may be *Convenient*; for the *One way*, they only *stumble* at the *Present Burthen*; but the *Other*, they are *startled* with an *Apprehension* of the *Reproach* of it. In which *Case*, it fares with *Rulers*, as it does with *Racking Landlords*, in *Comparison* with *Those* that *Let* better *Penny-worths*. The *One* has more in his *Rentall*, but the *Other* has more in his *Pocket*; and the *reason* is; the *Tenants* run away with the *Rent*.

Though the Levy be Extraordinary, let the way be Ordinary.

*Sir Francis Bacon* is of opinion that *All Taxes*, and *Imposts* upon *Merchants*, do *seldome* good to the *King's Revenue*; for that he *loses* in the *Hundred*, he *loses* in the *Shire*; the *Particular Rates* being *Encreased*, but the *Total Bulk of Trading* rather *Decreased*.

Some *Oppressions* again there are, that proceed only from the *violence of Extorting* and *Corrupt Officers*. To *Complain* against *Abusers* of this *Quality*, a *Prince* his *Hare*, is to be ever *Open*; for it is in a *Particular manner*, his *Duty*, to *Relieve* the *Oppressed*.

Privileges are  
Sacred.



A Prince that Invades the Privileges of a City, Breaks his Word: If they are Persuaded, he may reform, or Remit at Pleasure: otherwise, let them stand Barred. It can never be safe to Govern ad Libitum: for when People find no Security in Obedience, it puts them upon the Experiment of Sedition. If a Monarch has an overgrown Subject, that he would be quit of; that he would sacrifice to his proper Advantage; let him but give him a Temptation to Sacrifice upon the Rights, or Customs, of his Imperial City: and if he take the bait, let him Discover him, and bring him upon the Stage for a Publick Oppressor. Such an Action layes That City at his Feet. To Finish; That Prince that would have his Subjects firme to him, in Danger, must be kind to them, in Peace.

Poverty is a  
terrible Encour-  
age.

The Fourth and Last motive to Sedition, is Poverty: A Terrible Enemy to a Great and Populous City; nor is such a City in Extreme Want, a less Formidable Enemy to the Monarch: for Hunger is neither to be denied, nor Plac'd.

The Causes of it are so many, and so intertain, 'tis hard to assign particular Remedies. In some Cases, a strict Economy is convenient. In others, Temporary Taxes, the Arbitrary and Improvements of Trade; The calling of Foreign Ministers to Account; &c. For fear of the worst, it is good, if the Neighbouring Party grow Tumultuous, let the Prince rather to make War with Them abroad, then to stay, till They make it upon Him, at Home;

by

by That means, exchanging a *Civil War*, for a *Foreign*.

IV. B. 2

If the Mischief be too far gone, and that it breaks forth into a *Direct Sedition*, yet can it very hardly happen, that a Prince can warrant the forsaking of his *Metropolis*. The Prince not to forsake his Metropolis.

First, with Five Hundred men he keeps a *Million* in *Awe*; That is, if He Himself, and his whole Party, be not Comp'd up under the same Roof. They can Destroy Him, by Number; and Hee, Them, by Fire.

Next, Let the Prince but carry the *First Scuffle*, and (the World to nothing) the Town is his own. Whereas, let Him *mishdram*; so great is the Advantage he leaves to the Rebels, both as to the *Readiness*, and *Preparation*, of Men, and *Provisions* for *War*; that (at a Distance) he may get the Benefit of Five or Six Pitch'd Battles, and yet Lose all at Last. For They shall sooner Re-enforce a Broken Army, then Hee Recruit a Shatter'd Regiment.

A Third Reason may be, that it Lessens the Reputation of his Power, to give Ground.

We shall conclude with the *Faults*, which is, That Citizens will stand better, far from Home, then under their own Walls; for what with the *Importunities* of their *Relatives*; Their *Interests* to win; and the Convenience of a *Near Retreat*; They Fight in *Distraktion*. We speak here of a *Civil War*, not against a *Foreign Force*; These Reasons transport them into a more *Determined Obstinacy*, from the *Cry* now for the *Country*.

## SECT. VI.

*How to Prevent Seditions from the COUNTRY.*

**I**T is very rarely seen that the *Country* begins a *Seditious Quarrell*, unless in case of some *Barbarous* and *Depopulating Tyranny*, or for pure want of *Bread*. In Truth, their *Business* is too *Insistent*, and They're so full on't too; they have scarce *Leisure* from their *Sleep*, and *Labour*, to *Think* of *Whispering*; and when they do, they *dread* it. The hurt They do, is by *Slandering*, and *Decrying*, and That *Unwillingly* too. So that to keep Them *Quiet*, no more is Necessary, than to have an *Eye* upon their *Parrons*; and to allow the *Common Sort* only to *live* upon their *Labours*.

## SECT. VII.

*Certain Cautions directing how to prevent and avoid dangers arising from the* BODY REPRESENTATIVE.

**T**HERE are Three grand Hazards which occur in the Consideration of a *Body Representative*. The *Choice* of the *Persons*; The *Message* of *Affaires*; And the *Subject Matter* of their *Consultations*.

Let the Choice  
be Legally, and  
Prudent.

Touching the *Choice*; Regard must be first had to the *Legality*; and Then, to the *Prudence* of it. That the *Candidate* may be of such *Age*, and *Quality*; and Chosen.

Chosen in such *Manner*, as the *Law* of the Place requires: And moreover, that he be a Person of *Moral Integrity*; A *Lover* of his *Prince*, and *Country*; and one that Understands his *Duty*, and *Employment*. There is a *Duty* also Incumbent upon the *Electors*; That they be not *Corrupted* by *Money*, *Overborn* by *Impartiality*, or *Transported* by *Fear*, or *Favour*, to an *Unworthy* and *Unsuitable* *Choyce*. From the want of This *Care* and *Fidelity*, proceed many times the *Ruine* of *Princes*, and the *Subversion* of *Kingdomes*.

Before the *Sovereign* Summons This *Grand Convention*; he may consider how the *Last* Ended; The *Present Temper* of his *People*; and hold a *Strict Intelligence* concerning *Spelt Persons*, and *Fellowships*, as are likely to *Cross* him.

If the *Last Assembly* *Acted* and *Concluded* to the *Satisfaction* of *Himself* and the *Kingdom*, He may *Hope* well of the *Next*: but if the *Contrary*, let him expect a *Fallion*. Unless in the *Interval*, he take off That *Animosity*, which may be attempt'd by doing That *Himself*, as of his own *meer Grace*, and *Motion*, which may bear some *Proportion* with what they would have done by Their *Deputies*. There's a great *Difference*, betwixt a *King's Reforming* of *Abuses* by *Himself*, and by his *Counsell*: In the *One Case*, it looks as if the *People* help'd *Themselves*: and makes them think better of their *Own Authority*, then they ought to do: In the *Other*, they find *Themselves* *Dependent* upon the *Grat* of the *Sovereign*, and ascribe the *Relief* to

Better the *Sovereign* Reforme, then the *Counsell*.

his *Beauty*. In fine, it is not amiss for a Prince still to utter in the Call of his *Great Assembly* with some *Particular Obligation* upon his Subjects.

As to the Rest; if the Prince finds The Temper of the People *Peevish*, and *Factions Boiling*; such as no *Clemency*, and *Goodness* can Engage; the less Subject for *Clamour* he leaves them, is the Better; and if upon *Convening*, he finds the Mixture *Petulant*, and *Sour*; he may with the less noise *Dismiss* them.

The effects of  
a Good  
Choyce,

and of a Bad.

According to the *Choyce of Persons*, will be the *Menage of Affaires*: The *Publique Good*; *Particular Justice*, and the *Dignity of the Assembly*, will be the *Chief Care* of a good *Choyce*: but if the *Choyce* be *Bad*; These *Noble Offices*, and *Regards*, will be the *Least part* of their *Business*. They fall then into *Partialities*, and *Sidings*; *Helpe mee to day*, and I'll helpe you to morrow. *Acts of State* will be *Bias'd* by *Particular Interests*: Matters *Concluded* by *Surprize*, rather than by any *formal Determination*; and the *Reverence of Order*, and *Reason* will be *dash'd out* of *Courtenance*, by the *Voicings of Faction*, and *Clamour*.

The Mischieves of  
Partiality.

As *Politique Bodies* have no *Souls*, so *Publique Persons* should have no *Bodies*: but leave those *Impediments of Justice*, and *Distractions of Counsell*, (*Project*, and *Faction*) at the *Door* of the *Senate*. In short, where such a *Partiality* happens, as we here *Imagine*, the *Two main Mischieves* are These; The *Iniquity of the end*, or the *Disorder of the Means*.

*Means.* The *Former* may in some Measure be Prevented, by *not* *being* so deal *uprightly*, (but the *Grand Failing* was in the *Election*) The *Latter* may be Regulated by such a *Cleanneſſe* of *Rule*, and *Method*; together with ſuch a *Strictneſſe* in the *Obſervation* of *That Rule*, that both *Every man* may know his *Duty*, and no man dare to *Transgreſſe* it.

But Concerning the *Subjeſt-Matter* now of their *Conſultations*, There lies the *Peril*, when they come to reach at *Affairs Foreign* to their *Cogniſance*. The *Hazard* is *This*; ſtepp by ſtepp, They *Encroache* upon the *Sovereign*; Claiming a *Right* to *One* *Encroachment*, from the *Preſident* of another. So that Meeting with an *unſuare* Prince, they *ſeal* away his *Prerogatives* by *ſuchers*; and when per chance His *Spouſallur* comes to *reſume* his *Right*, That *Diſſenſe* is call'd the *Liberty* of the *Subjeſt*, and There's a *Quarrell* ſtated betwixt the *King* and his *Subjeſts*. Then comes the *Doctrine* in *Play*, that *Kings* are *Chosen* for the *Good* of the *People*, and that the *Diſcharge* of that *Truſt* and *Care* is the *Condition* of his *Royalty*. The very *Truth* is, *All Government* may be *Tyranny*. A *King* has not the *Means* of *Governing*, if he has not the *Power* of *Tyrannizing*. Here's the ſhort of the *Matter*. We are certainly *Destroy'd* without a *Government*, and we may be *Destroy'd* with one: So that in *Prudence*, we are rather to chuſe the *Hazard* of a *Tyranny*, then the *Certainty* of being *worry'd* by *One-another*. Without more words, The *Vulgar End* of *Government* is, to keep the *Multitude* from *Cutting one another*.

Better a Ty-  
ranny, then an  
Anarchy.



subscribers: *Thereto* in which they have ever found  
to be the *Consequence* of a *Single* *Offence* *Com-  
mon* *to* *the* *Whole* *(The* *English* *War* *in* *the* *Rebellion* *)*

When *Popular* *Conventions* have once found  
This Trick of gaining Ground upon the *Sovereign*;  
they catch their *Princes*, commonly as they do their  
*Horses*, with a *Sill*, and a *Stall* (a *Subsidy*, and  
a *Perpetuall* *Parliament*) If they'll take the *Bit*,  
they shall have *Oats*. But *These* are the *Distates*  
of *Ignorance*, and *Malice*: for such is the *Mutual*  
*Tie* and *Interest* of *Correspondence* betwixt a *Mo-  
narch*, and his *Peoples*; that *Neither* of them can be  
*safe*, or *Happy*, without the *Safety* and *Felicity* of  
the *Other*.

The best way to prevent the *ill* *Consequence* of  
the *Peoples* *Deputies* acting beyond their *Orbe*, is  
*Clearly*, and *Particularly*, to *State* Those *Reserves*  
of the *Prerogative*; with which they are not to  
Meddle. And so we'll put an End to This *Session*,  
and *Chapter*.

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*and* *Chapter*.



## CAP. XI.

*Certain Reflections upon the Felicity and Advantages of the Government of England; with some Observations upon The present Juncture.*

**I**N the Two last Chapters next antecedent to This, we have at *Folly* discours'd the *Rise, Progress,* and (in some sort) the *Remedies* of *Seditions*, without particular Application to *Times, Persons, or Places*. It is our *Present Purpose*, to bring the Question nearer *Home*; by Looking a little into the *Providence, and Wisdom, of our Forefathers*; The *Happy Constitution of the English Government*: And *Then*, we must not passe *This Late Degenerate Race of Cannibal-Christians*, without a Word or Two; From *Whence*, to the *Distracted Juncture* we now live in; and *There* wee'll *Finish*.

Very *Prudent, and Effectuall*, both for the *Preventing, and Suppressing* of *Seditions*, was the *Provision* of This Nation, till the *Authority* of the *Prince* was shoulder'd out by the *Insolency* of the *People*: who of the *Happiest Subjells in Nature*, as well in Respect of the *Prince*, as of the *Government*, worthily became the most *Prostitute Slaves*, to the *Rashest of Tyrannies*, and of *Tyrants*.

The Ancient  
Prudence of  
England, for the  
Preventing of  
Seditions.

The Principall Courses employ'd for the *Prevention*, and *Discovery* of Practices against the State, were These.

First, the Custome of *Fridborghes*; (so call'd, before the Conquest; and *Frank-pledge* since) which was beyond Doubt, an *Incomparable Expedient*. (ah *Invention* I dare not call it, for it's *Originall* may be ascribed rather to a *Necessity*, then *Contrivance*.)

The Custome  
of *Fridborghes*  
or *Frank-  
Pledges*.

'This was a *Custome*, that obliged every *Free-man*, at the Age of Fourteen years, either to find a *Surety* for his *fidelity* to the *Publique*, or to suffer *Imprisonment*. Whereupon, so many Neighbours (to the Number of Ten or a *Doxen*) became *Bound one for another*: and each *Particular*, both for *Himself* and his *Fellows*: which *Combination* they call'd a *Pledge*. The Condition was *This*. If any man *Offended*, and *Run away*, The Rest stood engaged either to bring him forth within 31 dayes, or else to answer for his Offence. And that none might scape, it was imposed upon the *Sheriff*, at every County Court, to take the Oath of Persons as they grew up to the age of Fourteen; and to see that they were all entred in some *Pledge*, or *Other*. So that upon any *misdemeanor*, and *escape*, the *Magistrate* had but to enquire into what *Pledge* the *Offender* was entred.

The Condition  
of it.

Oaths of Al-  
legeance.

: Oaths of *Allegiance* were also to be given in the *Court-Leets* to all Males of above Sixteen: And *Enquiries* twice a year in the same Courts.

A Charge was given by Judges of the Kings Bench, to the Grand Jury Impannell'd at *Westminster*;

as also by Them and other Judges of Assize in their Circuits, twice a Year in every County, to enquire of Treasons, Seditions, and Conspiracies. The Judges Charge concerning Treasons, &c.

Add to These, the Care of the Statutes of 2 E. 3. cap. 3. 7 R. 2. cap. 13. 20 R. 2. cap. 1. that no man should come or go Armed, before the Justices. By the 17 of R. 2. cap. 8. and 14 H. 4. cap. 7. The Justices of Peace shall enquire of Riots, and Unlawfull Assemblies, and arrest the Offenders. Beside the Dreadfull Penalties in case of Treason, and the Severity of the Law in cases of Misprision of Treason.

Were but This Vigilance duly employ'd, who would venture his Head upon so desperate a Hazard?

Nor was This Watchfulness to Prevent Mischief, any hinderance to the Readiness of the Nation to Suppress it.

The Nobility and Gentry, that held by Knights-Service, were still to be Ready with Horse and Armes, at any Summons; and upon pain of Forfeiture, to attend the King, or his Lieutenant General, either at Home or Abroad, for Forty Dayes, at their proper Charge. Knights Service.

If That were not sufficient, the King had the whole Body of the Common People for his Infantry: and an unquestionable Right, by his Commissions of Array, to put the Nation in a Posture, from Eighteen to Threescore. Beside his Naval Guards, to cleere the Seas and watch the Coast. Commission of Array.

*And This without any Dispute (in those blessed days) who should be judg of the Danger.*

As Nothing was here wanting to the *Security* of the *Nation*, which good *Laws* could Contribute; so was there as little wanting to the *Felicity* of the *People*, in regard of the *Constitution* of the *Government*.

*Libido Domi-  
nandi Causa  
Bellis. Sal.*

If it be True, (as *Salust* sayes) that the *Desire* of *Rule* is the *Cause* of *Warr*: Where there's no place for such *Desire*, there can be consequently no *Cause* of *Quarrell*. (At least, there can be no *Ambitious Cause*; (the *Canker* of *Great Minds*, and deadly *Enemy* of all *Politique Settlements*) This is the *Happy* case betwixt the *King* of *England*, and the *People*.

The King is  
above Ambition.

*Ambition* presses forward still; and he that's *Uppermost* already, is above it. The *Object* of it is *Conquest*, not *Tyranny*; and in a *Monarch*, (as I have said else-where) rather *Enlargement* of *Empire*, then of *Prerogative*.

And the Commons  
Below it.

The *People* on the Other side; They are as much *Below* it. For the *Nobility* stands betwixt *Them* and *Home*: and 'tis not for a *Faction* to take *Two Stairs* at a *step*. So that *Their* *Businesse*, is but *Freedome* from *Oppression*, without the least *Thought* of *Dominion*.

Yet *Differences* break out, and *Bloody* ones; which by a *Grosse Mistake*, we are too subject to assign unto *Wrong Causes*. If ye would know the *Right*: *Cui prodest Scelus, ille fecit*. The *Gayners* by a *Publique Ruine*, are commonly the *Contrivers* of



of it: and in all Wrangles betwixt the *Royall*, and the *Popular Interest*, we may observe, that a *Third Party* reaps the *Fruit of Their Division*, and seizes the *Booty*: The *People* only giving in *Exchange*, for the *Name of Liberty*, the *Substance* of it; sinking a *Monarchy* into an *Oligarchy*; and slipping the *Noose of One Government*, to be *Halser'd* in another.

Were not the *Multitude* directly *Mad*, they would understand, that *Their Well-being* is so *Inseparable* from the *King's*, and *His* from *Theirs*, that the *One* cannot long *survive* the *Ruines* of the *Other*: And that *when ever They Divide, the Faction part of the Nobility deceives them Both*. Therefore why should They either *design* upon the *King*, or *suspect His* *designing* upon *Them*?

Touching the *Peerage*, I think we may consider them under this Note of *Participation*; either as *Petty Kings*, or *Powerfull Subjects*. In the *One Capacity*, they may seem *Dangerous* to the *People*, in the *Other* to the *King*. If they *presume* on *This* hand, The *Commons* are to *Assist* the *King*: If They *bear hard* on the *Other*, the *King* is to help the *Commons*: by virtue of which *Mediating mixture*, of *Power* in the *Nobility* as to the *People*; and of *Subjection*, as to the *King*; together with the *mutuall Need*, and *Interest* of a *Fair Understanding* betwixt *King*, and *Commons*, All Parties are *Secur'd*: to the utmost possibility of *Safety*, and *Satisfaction*. Yet after all *This*, There may be *Danger* of an *Aristocracy*. But concerning *Government*, and the severall *Formes* of it, in all their *Latitudes*, and

The Interests  
of the King  
and Commons  
are Inseparable.  
ble.

The Peerage  
are either as  
Petty Kings,  
Powerfull Sub-  
jects.

*Limitations; the Rights and Interests of Kings, and the Bounds of Subjects, more then enough is said already, and the Ball tosse'd so long till both the Gamesters, and By-standers are sick of the Dispute.*

The Excellent  
Government of  
England was  
subverted by a  
mean Faction.

Security lost us.

This Constitution which we have here represented so Eminent, both for *Defense*, and *Comfort*, was nevertheless by a *Mean, Wretched Faction* undermin'd; and yet no Age could ever boast greater examples of *Love, Faith, and Duty*; of *Christian, Civill, or of Militar, Virtues* then were among the *Affertours*, of *That Government*. But all This stresse of *Armes* and *Arguments*, was not sufficient to uphold the *King, the Church, the Law, the Freedome, and the Honour of the Nation*. Their Actings were enough to *Cleere the Cause*, but not to *carry it*: for they *Began too Late*; The *Storme* was *Gather'd*, and the *Shipp* of the *Publique* engag'd among a *Thousand Rocks*, before the *Mariners* would *believe the Danger*: Accompting it, in *Truth*, too *Little* to be *Consider'd*, till it was too *Great* to be *Resisted*. But reserving the more *Particular* Accompt of the *Late Kings Fate* for the next Chapter: Let us at present, look about us where we are; yes, and *Above* us too; for we have cause of *Fear*, both from *Divinity*, and *Reason*.

In This Place now do I expect *Observations* in Abundance. Here, a Marginal Note for *Taxing the Government*. There a ¶ for a *Scandalum Magnatum*. And in fine, *Twenty Peevish Glasses* upon my *plain and Harmlesse Meaning*. But let no man  
clap

clap a *false Bias* upon my *Bowle*, and carry That to the *Wall*, that was Intended to the *Hedge*. Yet let every man take his course: I shall not begg so much as a *Favourable Construction*; but readily submit every *Syllable*, and *Action* of my Life, (in what concerns my Duty to my *Prince*, and *Country*) to the *Extremest Rigour*. Only a Page or Two of good Advice to my *Back-friends*, and I Proceed.

Good People, (of what Sort, or Quality soever ye are) Pray e do not spare Me, if you can do me *any mischief*; but spare your *selves*, if you cannot.

You that have *formerly abus'd Me* to the *King*; do so no more: For when he comes to find himself *Betray'd* by your *Mis-enformations*; and *Distress'd* for want of Those *plain, honest Offices*, which (so God save me) I have ever *Meant* and *Pay'd* him, with the strict *Faith*, and *Reverence* of a *Subject*: Will not his *Sacred Majesty* abhor you for it?

Or if ye are Resolved to Try the utmost force of *Power*, and *Calumny*, upon a *Poor* and *Single Innocent*; be sure, ye be no *Advocates* for the *Kings Murderers*, at the same time that ye are of *Counsel* against his *Friends*, The People will suspect you to be of the *wrong side* else.

Again, since *Proofs* in Matters of *Fact*, are so *Easie*, and in Poynts of *Honour*, so *Necessary*; Prove what ye say; or say *Nothing*: for wherein I am *Faultlesse*, I am a *Fool* if I cannot clear my self; and a *Slave*, if I do not.

Consider next, *What if ye crush me?* May not the *Consequence* of That *Injustice* prove *Dangerous* to your

A word to my  
Back friends.

your *Selves*? Beside ; I am not now *Now* to Learn, what 'tis to *Suffer* for my *Duty*.

But above all, Remember, *There's a God* ; that knows your *Souls*, and *Mine* ; And at the worst, to his *Infallible Decision* shall I remit my *Innocence*.

Now must I arm my self against These *Objections*.

Object. *Whom does This Sawcy Fellow mean? Who meddles with him? He must be Directing the Church, and Modelling the State: What has he to do with the Government?*

Answ. *This Sawcy Fellow means, Those Worthy Persons, that have endeavour'd to make him odious to the King: and for no other Reason, (as in his Name, I swear) that he imagines, but because he is too Honest, for Their Interest. If there be any such; Those are the Men, he Means; If There be None, He has Offended no body; His Bolt is Shot, and the Exception Vanishes. But Then who meddles with Him?*

The *Right Honourable* the *Earl of Anglesey's Chaplain* meddles with him. The *Bishop of Worcester* *Animadverter* meddles with him. My Lord *BRADSHAW* (*Lord Chief Justice of Chester*) *his* most obliged, most *Thankful*, and most *humble Devoted Servant* meddles with him. *He that would have Ravish'd the Foyners Wife*, neer the *Blew Bore* in *Oxford* meddles with him. *He that (in effect) Read Arctine to his School-boys* meddles with him. *He that Betray'd*, and would have *Ruin'd his Master*, that both *Taught* and *Fed* him, meddles with him. *He that*

Ask Doctor  
Owen, and  
Mr. Jegan, w  
That was?



that hath written against the Government both of Church and State, and commended the Poisoning of the Late King to Death, meddles with him. He that thinks himself Free to use any Posture in the Church, which he may in his Chamber, meddles with him. He that wrote the Answer to all that I, S. intends to say, meddles with him. And in fine, EDWARD BAGSHAW, Sr. of Ch. Ch. meddles with him.

But alas! *These* are a *Pittypoll Meddler*, and below the Honour of a Title to my least Concern.

There are that do *ill Offices*, betwixt the *Best of Princes*, and the most *Loyall of Subjects*: And *These men Meddle with mee* among the *Rest*, though the *unworthiest of Them*. Further; concerning my *Directing of the Church, and State*: I have been hitherto only upon the *Defensive*; and, I hope, it is as lawfull for *Me* to *Affers* the Cause, as for *Others* to *Oppose* it.

Nor have I stippled more about the *Government*, then belongs to a *Private Person*. If I have discover'd *Treasons*, 'twas but my *Duty*, and I had been a *Perjur'd Villain*, if I had done Less. That They are *Winck'd at*, *Protected*, or *Brought off*; is none of *My Fault*. If I have dealt in *Presbyterian Prognostications*; and represented *Dangers*, such as I thought them. First, 'twas well *Meant*, for I have kept my self within my *Bounds*; I had no *Interest* in 'em, and I have got *Nothing* by 'em. Next, 'twas not ill *Conjunct*, and they that compass *Times* will easily *acknowledge* it.

**A Private Person may discover a Public Enemy.**

**The People's Choice**

**E**

1250

The King, the  
Law, the Parli-  
ment, and the  
Counsell are  
Sacred.

I am come now, within a *Little*, of my *Purpose*;  
and that This formall Preamble, may not raise Ex-  
pectations of a larger *Liberty* then I think either  
*Safe*, or *Warrantable*; within These *Limits*, I re-  
solve Strictly to *Confine* my self: That is, within the  
Limits of what I ow to the *Office*, *Person*, and *Go-*  
*vernment* of his *Sacred Majesty*: Within the Com-  
passe of my *Duty* to the *Establish'd Law*; and with-  
in the *Termes* of a *becoming Reverence* to the *Actions*,  
and *Authority*, both of the *Parliament* now *sitting*,  
and of the *Counsell*.

Beware of Im-  
puting the  
faulces of a  
*Faction* to the  
*Government*.

He must be *Deaf*, that does not hear almost a  
*Generall Complaint*: And *Blind* too, that does not  
perceive a great part of the *Reason* of it. There is  
a Party that *Designs* it should be so: wherefore  
let them be wary, how they impute the *Malice*, and  
*Contrivance* of a *Faction*, to any *Disorder* in the  
*Government*. Their way is first, to *Disoblige* the Na-  
tion, in the *King's Name*, as far as possible; for in  
the End, they are sure that all His *Enemies*, will  
be *Their Friends*. The *Subject* *wants*; so does  
the *King*; (They should not *want* that *Serv'd* him  
else) *There are that do not*. But let That  
*Pass*.

The *Faction*  
has a great  
*Advantage*.

Another main Prop of their Interest, is that they  
have got the means of *Upholding*, both in *Power*,  
and *Credit*, That Party which *Oppos'd* the *King*;  
which, in the Consequence, *Reproaches* and *Stervies*  
those that were *for* him. While the *Loy-Faction*  
are in this manner upon *Modeling* the *State*; the  
*Ministers* (in good time) are moving their *Scruples*  
in

in the Church. Wherein, beside the *Amusement*, that it gives even to Those in *Authority*; the *Doubtfulness* of the *Right* betwixt Them, which it suggests to the *People*; and the *Reputation* which it gives the *Faction*, when they appear in the *Balance* against the *Law*, and the *Government*; there is yet one further Mischief which transcends all These; That is, it *Intimates*, and *Colours*, to the *Multitude*, the *Right* of the Last Warr; and by *Justifying* the Pretences of *That Rebellion*, subministers the *Reason*, *Allowance*, and *Encouragement* of *Another*. Let it be observ'd; If These People should Strike again to morrow, upon the old Score, whether they might not safely say, that they have been *True to their Principles*; for they have never as yet renounc'd them. When by These Artifices herein mention'd, they shall have Cast the *Body* of the *People* into a deep *Disquiet*; *Confirm'd* their *own Party*; and either by *Foreign Employments*, or *Domestique Injuries*, and *Necessities*, when they shall have *Disipated*, *Suppressed*, nay, actually *Famish'd*, and totally *Extirpat'd* the *Try'd Servants* of the *King*; where they'll be Next, I leave the Reader to Imagine.

The Presbyterians are True to their Principles, but not to their Profession.

Nor will any man think Me *Uncharitable*, that Considers but their *Dayly Actings*, for the Project is as clear as the *Light*. Does not every body see what *Art* and *Industry* is employ'd to *Retard* the *Settlement* of the *Kingdome*, and with what *Hypocritical Diligence* they prosecute the *Contrary*? Nor will they want any thing that is to be had, either for *Money*, or *Fair words*: The *one* Costs them

Their Industry.

*Nothing*, and if they can do any thing by the *other*, they have *good Security* however: the Interest of the *Three Kingdoms* standing *Engag'd* for the *Repayment* of it. *Marque Me*; I say, *IF they can*; I do not say, either that they *CAN*, or *DOE*. To This *Damn'd Cunning*, observe how but the *Luck* they have.



How many Persons have I my self *Deliver'd* up, and *Discover'd*, for *Publishing* This *King* to be a *Tyrant*; his *Father* to have been a *Traitor*, and *lawfully put to Death*? for *Defending* the *Covenant*, &c. — (and all This since the *Act of Indemnity*) These People had the good hap to be *seiz'd* off, and the *Discovery* render'd more *Dangerous* then the *Treason*.

Two Libels.

Of Late, there came forth Two Libels, (bearing the Title of *Letters of Animadversion*) from the same hand: The *One*, against the *Bishop of Worcester*, the *Other* against *Me*. The *Author* of These Libels, has the fortune to be *Chaplain* to a *Privy-Counsellor*, and The *Printer* has *Confessed* upon *Examination*, that he deliver'd Five Hundred Copies of each, to *Essex*'s own hand (for that's his Name) in the *Earl of Angleses* house. His *Lord* must be suppos'd a *Stranger* to These Papers, for They are *Treasonous*, and *Seditious*; beside the *Forgery* in them, which alone renders the *Contriver* fitter for a *Millory*, then a *Pulpit*.

The Libellers Character.

It is further to be *Presum'd*, that his *Lordship* is not well acquainted with his *Character*: for otherwise, he would not *Entertain* a Person of so *Impudent*, and *Ungratefull* a *Nature*; so *Seditious*, and

Turbu-

Turbulent in his Practices, Schismatical, if not Heretical in his Opinions. A professed Enemy, not only to the King, but also to Monarchy; Doctor Owen's Dear Friend, and Bradshaw's Slave, to the basest degree of Fawning Servility. (I write but what I'll justify).

Let any man Consider now, if This goes on a while, what will become of the True, Legal, and Honourable Interest of This Nation. And (God in his Mercy preserve his Majesty) what will become even of His Sacred Person when his Friends and Loyalty is self (shall be Extirpated)?

But 'tis our own Fault, that the King is not more fully, and particularly inform'd of the Calamities of his Languishing and Faithful Servants; and of the true State and Deportment of the Faction. His Majesty is no God, and knows what's done at a Distance, only as other Mortals do, by Informations. Nay, Kings know commonly lesse, concerning Affairs of This Nature, then Ordinary Persons. First, as they lesse Frequent Places that afford matter for Observation: And Then, People doe not love to be the Reporters of Ill Tidings to their Sovereign. 'Tis commonly a Thanklesse and Unwelcome Office.

Kings had  
need to be well  
inform'd.

Did but his Majesty walke the Streets, as we doe; to Over-hear the Whisperings, and the Murmurs: to observe the various Passions, and Discontents of the People: to see the Scandals they make: Their Wondrings, Glanings, Poyntings: and see What I Pray'e?

That's He (says one) that brought me to a Counsel

of Warr, because I would not march against the King at Worcester; and now he's so or so. There goes another, that Condemned Me upon the Kings Account, and he's in such or such an Office. These are brave Jolly Fellows; but before This Wonder is Over, up comes Two or Three perhaps, of the saddest Spectacles a mans eye can Look upon: They have scarce Strength enough to move: not Cloth enough to hide the Scars they have received in the Kings Service. Do ye see That Sickly man? (cryes one) He is a Gentleman that has spent his Fortune for his Majesty; That very Colonel that goes before, was He that Sequessed, and Plunder'd him.

In fine, Their other Mutterings are not fit for the Publique; but infinitely necessary for his Majesties Knowledge; whose Piety to his Fathers Asbes, Love to his People; Prudential regards to his own Safety; whose Justice to his Honour and his Friends, need but the Notice of these Ills, to remedy them. Or if his Royal Inclination needed any other motive, beyond his native proneness to an Act of Mercy; The Pious Presidents, and Practices of former Times might furnish him.

Amongst certain Articles Established by the King, Bishops, and Lords, It was Ordained,

8 H. 6. 11.

That such as have belonged to the Kings Ancestors, his Father, Grandfather, or belonging to himself, shall be preferred to all benefits or Offices belonging to the Kings disposition, so that there be found among them persons able thereto.

Amongst

Amongst certain Articles proposed by *John Duke of Bedford*, the Kings first Uncle, It was Ordained,

That soasmuch as there be many old Servants, and feeble, that have dispended their youth in the service of my Lords, my Grandfather, Father, and Brother, whose souls God assaile; and also with my Lord that now is, whom God giben good life and long, some without any libellhood or Guerdon, so that they be now in great Distresse, and necessity, and some but easily Guerdoned, and nought like to their desert and service: wherefore I desire that there may be a booke made of all the names of such as have so served, and been unguerdoned, or nought guerdoned like to their desert, to the intent, when Offices, and Coxodles fall, that they might be giben to such persons; they having Consideration to the Ability of them, and to the time that they have served, in the same wise as of benefices unto Clergie. 11 H. 6. 6.

*Henry the Fourth of France*, (his Majesties Grandfather) did for the Relief of such as had been *Maim'd, Wounded, or Begger'd* in his Service, grant by an Irrevocable Edict

The Royall House of Christian Charity, and the money growing upon the Remainder of Accompts of Hospitals, Almshouses, Leprous Houses, and other such Companies, and of the usurpations, and Alienations of the Revenues thereof, redissions of the Accompts, and Abuses, and Disorders committed in the Government, and Administration of the said Places, together with the Money which should arise of the Places, and Pensions of Religious Houses, in every Abby and Priory of his Realm, being in his Majesties Domination. Edict July 7. 1606.

The Consideration of the *Harve* was refer'd to the Duke of *Montgomery*, and of the *Fest*, to the



the Duke of Efferson, who were to make a List of the Possessors; And to Note in the Margin, what Annual Pension every man might merit, according to his Quality, Valour, and Wounds.

I may the better justify a Sense of Danger, since the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, has Publickly Declar'd several Formalities of a Regular Plot: Though I confesse, my Apprehensions look'd another Way. But These ill-boding Conjunctions, are without Question, more then Casual; and to These, may be added divers other Circumstances of as unpromising an Appearance.

III Apperances.

As the Reports we have of Foreign Alliances; the Recourse of Disaffected English into Those Quarters abroad which are most to be suspected: The dead Stilnesse, and Silence of the Disbanded Souldiours, notwithstanding so many Opportunities for Foreign Employment: (which looks as if they lay upon a Reserve) The Unsettled State of the Kingdome: The Seditious Freedom of the Presse and Pulpit; and which is more then All, A generall Scarcity of Money. Moreover, it is no despicable evil, the Corrupt Mixture that yet remains in the Universities. And what are Those Hospitals, and Petty Schooles that still continue unpurg'd, our Nurseries of Sedition? In a Particular manner, the Danger is Great, nay and the Number too, of ill-chosen Justices.

This is in fine, the Prospect of our Condition; which however handled by a Fool, may yet afford Matter for Wise men to work upon; and the providing



viding of *Expedients* for These *Mischieues*, does properly belong to the *Wisdom*, and *Authority* of a *King* in *Parliament*. The summe of all may be Comprehended in Little. There is a *present Danger*, which is in *Probability* to *encrease*; and the Faction has done their work, if they can but disable *That Party*, from *Serving* the *Son*, which hinder'd Them so long from *Destroying* the *Father*.

For want of a better *Security* against *Seditions* of what-kind-soever, the *Revivall* of the *Custom* of *Frank-Pledges* might be thought upon: to be Imposed upon all Persons, evidently disaffected to the *Government*, either of *Church* or *State*. For beyond question, the *Tyes* of *Interest* are *Safer*, if not *stronger* too, upon the *Generality*, then Those of *Conscience*. They may give an *Oath* the *slip*; with some pretty *Salvo*, or *Reserve*; but there's no evading the Intention of a *Bond*. When *Ten Men* stand *Engag'd*; every *Particular*, for the whole *Ten*, and *All*, for each *Particular*; Every single Person, has *Nine Spies* upon him.

The Custom  
of Frank-  
Pledges re-  
viv'd.



Another means (which as I hear is now in *Agitation*) may be, the Assurance both of *Reward*, and *Pardon*, to the *First Discoverer* of a *Conspiracy*, though one of the *Complotters*, and This by *Proclamation*. Sir *Francis Bacon*'s advice is, that the *King*, either by *himself*, (which were the Best) or by his *Chancellour*, should make use of the *Judges* in their *Circuits*; *Charging* them, at their *Going forth*, according to *Occurrences*, and receiving from them a *Particular Account* at their *Return home*; They would

Discoveries  
Rewarded.

Judges in their  
Circuits are  
good Intelli-  
gencers.

Then (sayes he) be the best Intelligencers of the True State of the Kingdome, and the surest means to prevent, ~~and~~ remove all growing Mischieves within the Body of the Realm.

To These Generall exhortations of Prudence, somewhat of more Particular relation to the matter in Question might be admitted; as first, an Expressse Abrenunciation of Their Cause, and Covenant: They do not Deserve their Lives sure, that refuse to confesse their Fault. As to the Relief of Distressed Royalists; (I speak of such as want, almost to the Degree of Perishing, and there are many such) 'Tis but time Lost, to Hunt for new wayes of Device, and Project, when every Bush is Beat already. If it might now seem as Reasonable, to allow them the Benefit of Forfeitures made since the Act of Indemnity, as it did erewhile seem Convenient to debar them of all Remedy for Injuries suffered before it: That might in some Proportion, stay their Barking Stomacks; or at least yield them This spiteful Comfort, not to fall Alone: But possibly, if This Course were Experimented, it would afford more then the World Imagines.

I should End this Chapter here: but that before I break off This Discourse, I think 'tis fit to give some Reasons why I undertook it.

How This Discourse may become usefull.

First, it may serve (to Those in Power) as a Memorial, or Note of certain Particulars, which deserve not to be Neglected, or Forgotten.

Next, it may serve to instruct the People, concerning the true Cause of some Miscarriages, which Popular, and Licentious Ignorance is but too apt to place  
else.

elsewere. (for in Truth, there are many peevish Circumstances, which the *Discreet*, Pause upon; and the *Vulgar* neither like, nor understand)

In the Last Place, I reckon my self bound by my Duty to the *King*, and *Nation*, not to conceal, what I have here *Declar'd*. And Particularly; That *Trea-* Treasons En-  
sons are Encouraged by Impunity. The Offenders couraged.  
Countenanced, and brought off. The Prosecutors Menaced; and the most Pessilent Enemies of the last King, as good as Protected in their Seditious Practises against This. If This falls into a Good hand, good use may be made of it; for I doe not speak at Gasse.

However, at the worst, Our Cause is the same; Our Duty the same: and our Affections ought to be the same. The Sun is not lesse kind, because his Influence may be intercepted by a Fogge, which Time will certainly dissolve: Nay and perchance Discover, (over and above, that some of Those Blazes which the Common People take for Stars of the first Magnitude, are in Effect but Comets: Portents of That Mischief, which they seldome live to see Accomplish'd,

But enough, of These ungratefull, and Seditious Machinatours against Their Prince, and their Preserver. And so from These Indignities against the Son, wee'll passe to Those Fatalities that made way to the Ruine of the most Pious, Patient, Mercifull, and yet Murder'd Father.

## C A P. XII.

*What it was Principally, th<sup>t</sup> is Ruin'd*  
**KING CHARLES the**  
**MARTYR.**

**Why was the Late King Murder'd?** **T**O see an Imperial Prince *Making'd, Arraign'd, and Beheaded*; with all *Formalities of Law, and Justice*; by his *own Subjects*, and *Those too, People of sworn Faith, and Holiness!* Can any man forbear Demanding, *For what Prodigious Reasons so horrible an Action was Committed?*

**Not for Religion.** *Was it for Religion?* No: Hee Dy'd a Martyr for that Cause, which to *maintein*, They *Swore* they *Fought*.

**Nor Tyranny.** *Was it for Tyranny of Government?* Neither; for ere the Warr *began*, he had granted more in *Favour* of the *Subject*, then all his *Ancestours*, put them together.

**Nor Cruelty.** *Was it for Cruelty of Nature?* No, nor That; I can scarce call to Mind where ever he deny'd his Grace to any man that besought him for it; unlesse where *Mercy* had been a *sinne*; and where his *Power* was stinted by his *Conscience*.

**Nor for want of Abilities and Valour.** *Was it for want of skill to Rule, or Courage to Protest his People?* For That, his very *Murderers* acknowledg'd him a Prince of singular *Abilities*, and  
*Valour.*

*Valour.* And touching his *Morals*, or *Devotions*; Nor for Impi-  
*Malice* it self could never deny That King, to be- tray or Inten-  
 a Person of a most *Regular Piety*, and *restrain'd* *Patience*.  
*Appetite*.

How came it then, that a *Prince*, *Authorized* by  
 his *Birth*; *Sacred* by his *Office*; *Guarded* by his  
*Laws*; *Religious* in his *Practice*; *Gracious* in his  
*Nature*; *Temperate* in his *Likings*; and lastly, *Ac-*  
*complish'd* in his *Person*, should come to *Fall*; in the  
*Heart* of his *Dominions*; before the *Gates* of his own  
*Palace*; and by the *Hands* of his own *People*? (But  
*Christ himself was Crucify'd.*)

*Ambition* drives *Furiously*, and in the way to a  
*Crown*; Those *Christian Rubbs* of *Conscience*, or  
*Humanity*, are not so much as *Bulrushes*. In fine,  
 That Blessed *Martyr's Actions* were so *Innocent*,  
 they were fainto *Quartrell* with his *Thoughts*; and  
 for want of *Faults* to *ruine* him, by *abusing* his *Vir-*  
*tues*. This we shall manifest to have been Their  
*Practice*; But wee'll first take a short *View* of their  
*Approches*.

The Kings In-  
 ju'gence was  
 his Ruine.

*Never since Calvin bound the Head of the Holy* *Presbytery* is a  
*Discipline*, *was ever any Monarch Quiet that ad-* *Specificke Pay-*  
*mitted it*: 'Tis a *Specificke Payson* to *Monarchy*. *son to Monar-*  
 And the *Ground* it gets, is not so much by *working*  
 upon the *Judgment*, as upon the *Good Nature* of  
*Princes*: It *Looks* so *Silly*, and *Beggs* so *Hearti-*  
*ly*; 'tis a hard matter to resist so *great an earnest-*  
*ness*, accompanied with so *little shew of Danger*. If  
 They are *Repuls'd*; Good God! they cry; That any  
 man should go about to *Damne* so many *Thousand*  
*Souls* for such a *Trifle*: when 'tis come to *This*

King James  
his Answer to  
a Presbyterian.

once, 'tis gone too far; for such an *Exclamation* is enough to raise a *Tumult*. King James his Answer to *Knewstubb* upon the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, was as it should be; (and no Prince ever had a Truer measure of *Sir John Foot*, then himself) *Knewstubb* desir'd to know how far an Ordinance of the Church was binding, without offence to *Christian Liberty*? The King turns quick upon him; *Le Roy s'avisera*, says he, *Wee'll no more* of Those Questions, *How far you are bound to Obey, what the Church has once Ordain'd*? Had he dealt otherwise, his Majesty had given the *Presbyterian* the first Hold.

At the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth, brake forth Those Broyles in Scotland, wherein the Lords of the Congregation (so was the Faction distinguish'd) Deprived the Queen-Regent, by the Approbation and Advise of Willock and Knox, to whom the Cause was Refer'd. The French assisted the Queen Dowager, and the Lords of the Revolt, were (for some Reasons of State) assisted by Queen Elizabeth. At That Time it was Principally, that the English took the Scotch Disease, and upon the Peace, brought it with them into England, whercof we have abundantly tasted the blessed Fruits, ever since. Let such as are curious of Particulars, look into the 11. 16. 31. and 36. of that Queens Reign; and see what *Prodigious Haresies*, what *Seditious Opinions* and *Practices*: what desperate *Libels* and *Sermons* proceeded from That *Schismaticall Separation*. At length, by an Exemplary Severity, upon *Hackett*, and *Barrow*, she gave her self some Quiet.

Queen Elizabeth  
quieted the  
Schismatiques  
by Severity.

Upon

Upon King James his coming to the Crown of England, they Try'd Him too: but when they fell to scrupulize about the Surplice; and the Crosse in Baptism; The King (having first Choak'd them in Points more Materiall) to make short work of it, tells them. 'Twas *Obstinacy*, not *Tendernesse*; bids them *Conforme* at *Perill*. For the *Perill*-sake, They did *Conforme*, and so That Prince was *Quiet*. But though no *Flame* Appear'd, the *Fire* was not *Extinguish'd*, but prudently *Conceal'd*, and *Cover'd* in the *Embers*.

Said King  
James.

And now Succeeds King Charles the Martyr, under the *Disadvantages*: First, of a *Great Debt*, and a *present Necessity*. Secondly, of a *Natural*, so void of *Guile*, as hardly to believe that there was such a thing in Nature. (which made him somewhat apt to *Credit*) And the *Third Disadvantage* was, his *Inexperience* of That Faction which he was now to Cope with.

Three Disadvantages of  
King Charles  
the Martyr.

Upon his coming to the Crown, Hee Calls a *Parliament*; Tells them his *wants*; which They knew of *Themselves*, to be exceeding *Great* and *Pressing*. Their Answer was, (in effect) that *Petitions* were to precede *Subsidies*: And thereupon, Two they presented; The *One* for *Religion*, the *Other* concerning *Grievances*: and to Both These; his Majesty gave ample and *Particular Satisfaction*: which, instead of *Thankfulnessse*, and *Supply*, produced only *Expostulation*, and *Baldnesse*. So high already were they Flaw'd, as to resolve upon a *Remonstrance*; sayl upon the *Memory* and *Government* of the *Father*; and *Imposing* upon the *Authority* of

The Originall  
of his Trou-  
bles.

of the *San*, which mov'd the King to *Prevent That Affront, by Dissolving That Parliament.* (This was in *August 1625.*) See but how *Great a Confidence* did *This small yielding* give them! And *Thence*, wee'll Date the History of his ensuing Troubles. Marke forward, how they grow upon him; and abuse his aptnesse to comply with Them.

The Progress  
of them.

In *Febr.* following, meets a *Second Parliament*, wherein a matter of *Three Months* were spent in a *Debate*, betwixt the King and the *Lords*, concerning the *Privileges* of the *House of Peers*. The *Commons* having in the *Interim*, a *Committee* for *Religión* at work, to *spy Faults*, where at last was Retriv'd, a Letter under the *Signet*, for the Reprieve of some *Jesuites*, Sec. — and This Reported to the House by *Mr. Pim*. These *Petulanties* did not at all discompose the King, but he calmly again Sollicites them for Money: The *Fleet* being in great distresse, and ready to *Mutiny* for want of *Pay*. In stead of being Supply'd, his Majesty is insufferably Affronted, Particularly by *Mr. Clement Coke*, and Doctor *Turner*, of whom he complains, but without obtaining satisfaction, save upon such conditions, as were utterly inconsistent with his *Royalty*. In fine, This Parliament prepares another *Declaration of the same Stamp with the Former*; and so they are *Dissolved too*. These *Disappointments*, they knew, must needs put the King upon Extraordinary wayes to furnish himself for the *Present*; and that at the last, his recourse must be to a *Parliament*, into which they were sure to be Chosen, and easily foresaw; that the Greater his Majesties *Necessities* were,

The House of  
Commons Af-  
fronts him.

the



the more Argument would there be for Complaint.

In This Intervall, the King was left to his Choice of These Two Evils, whether he would hazard the Revols of his Navy, and the putting of his Kingdoms into a Flame, for want of Money; or venture at some uncommon way of Raising it. This extremity puts him upon his Commissions of Loan: Privy Seals; A Project of Levy by Excize: Nay, such was his Necessity, that he was fain to Part with 21000 li. per Annum, of his own Lands, to the Common-Counsell of London, only for 120000 li. together with some other Debts of his Fathers; which they Hedg'd and bought in for little, and clapp'd upon his Majesties Account to the Uttermost Farthing. The Loan was much Opposed, and who but the Refusers of This Loan, were the Popular men for the Next Parliament? which was Summon'd to meet in March, 1627.

The King put  
to a sad  
Choice.



Accordingly they Meet; and the King minds them of their Past Faylings, and their Present Duties in a Speech worthy of the Prudence, and the Majesty of a Great Prince. [In This time (sayes the King) of Common Danger, I have taken the most Antient, Speedy, and Best way for Supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) in not contributing what may answer the Quality of my Occasions, you do not your Duty, it shall suffice, I have done mine; in the Conscience Whereof, I shall rest Content,

The Kings  
Speech.

and take some other Course, for which God hath empower'd Me, to Save That, which the Polly of Particular men might hazard to Lose.

Take not This as a Menace, (for I scorn to Threaten my Inferiours) but as an Admonition from him who is Ty'd both by Nature, and Duty, to provide for your Preservation.]

This Taste of the Kings *Mettle*, gave them to understand that *Rustling* would not do their work, and put them rather upon a *semblance* of *Closing* with him: But with Regard still to Their *Trust*, and that the *People* might be as well *Eas'd*, as his *Majesty* Supply'd. Which being formally resolv'd upon, and that the *Kings Wants*, and the *Subjects Grievances* should march hand in hand: By an Unanimous Vote, they granted his Majesty *Five Subsidies*: who being too *sincere*, to take That *Bounty* for a *Bait*, even *Wept with Joy*, at the surprise of a *Kindnesse* so *unexpected*. But This is but the *Gilding* of the *Pill*, now comes the *Poyson*.

The Bounties  
of the Faction  
are Baits.

The Petition  
of Right.

Upon the Motion of Sir *Edward Coke*, was fram'd The *Petition* of *Right*, which *Passes* the House of *Commons*, but *sticks* with the *Peers*, as utterly *Destructive* of the *Prerogative Royall*, without a *Salvo*: Whereupon they offer This Addition. [We present This our humble Petition to your Majesty, not only with Care to Preserve our own Liberties, but with regard

regard to leave entire That Sovereign Power, wherewith your Majesty is trusted, for the Protection, Safety, and Happiness of your People.] But this Addition was not for Their Turn, whose businesse was more to Depresse the King, and Advance Themselves, then to provide for the Freedom of the People: And in fine, the Commons adhering, after a long struggle, it pass'd the Lords House without Amendment. (In regard that we are now upon the very Crisis, of King or No King, we shall be a little the more Particular) After Five Dayes Consideration thereupon, the King returns This Answer,

The King willeth that Right be done according to the Laws, and Customes of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in Execution, that Subjects may have no Cause to Complain of any Wrong, or Oppressions, Contrary to their Just Rights, and Liberties, To the Preservation whereof, he holds himself in Conscience as well obliged, as of his Prerogative.]

His Majesties  
first Answer to  
the Petition of  
Right.

This Answer (though Clear, and Full as possible, to any just Intention) did not yet Relieve, and the pretended Exception, was not to the Matter of it, but the Forme: So that a New Petition is agreed upon, for a more formal Answer: Which his Majesty taking notice of, Prevents, with a *Le droit* *soit fait, comme il est Desiré*. This Grant finish'd

The Commons  
Cavill.

The King Pas-  
ses the Bill.

*Foundation of the Kings Ruine.* Now see the Return they made him for This Goodnesse; how they Rejoiced This Benignity, and Trust.

The Commons  
Requitall.

The Commissions of Loan, and Excise, are Instantly Cancell'd, and a Scandalous Remonstrance is Presented to his Majesty, with the Bill of Subsidies. Upon which the King reflects (as he had Cause) with some Displeasure; and draws a Stinging and a Punctual Answer to it. This puts the Commons upon Another Remonstrance against Tonnage, and Poundage, which Provok'd the King to give a sodain-End to That Session; Declaring before his Assent to the Bills, The true Intent of what he Granted in That Petition: And that as it was the Profession of Both Houses, in the time of Hammering That Petition, no way to Trench upon his Prerogative; so he could not be conceiv'd to have Granted any New, but only to have Confirm'd the Antient Privileges of his Subjects. And here his Majesty Prorogues This Parliament.

His Majesty  
Explains him-  
self.

The Commons  
Inquisition.

In Jan. following they Meet again, and Appoint Two Committees: The One for Religion, the Other for Civill Affairs: And These are to Inspect Abuses, and lay open the Kings Misgovernments to the People. In the Heat of their haste, his Majesty sends Secretary Coke upon an Interceding Message to them, with all the Gentleness Imaginable. Whereat the House takes snuffe, and calls to Adjourn. In short, the King Adjourns them from January.

to.

to the 2. of March: and Then being Met, Sir John Eliot begins with a *Bitter Invective* against the Lord Treasurer: After which the *Speaker* acquaints the House with his Majesties Command, of their *Adjournment* till the 10<sup>th</sup>. They give him a Check for his Peins, and follow their Business. Up rises Sir John again, and Offers a *Remonstrance* against *Tonnage and Poundage*, to their *Reading*, which both *Speaker* and *Clerk* Refusing, Hee Reads it Himself. When it should be put to the *Vote*, whether or no, to be Presented to the King, the *Speaker* excuses himself, as Comanded by the King, to Leave the House; and endeavouring to Rise, he was forcibly kept in his Chaire, till as the *Protestation* of the House was Read, as Follows.

First, Whosoever shall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by favour seek to introduce Popery, or Arminianisme, or other Opinions disagreeing from the true Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capitall Enemy to this Kingdome and Common-wealth.

The Protestation of the Commons.

Secondly, Whosoever shall Counsell or Advise the Taking or Levying of the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being Granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor, or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capitall Enemy to this Common-wealth.

Thirdly, If any man shall voluntarily yield, or Pay the said Subsidies of Tonnage, or Poundage, not being Granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to this Commonwealth.

Their Councils,

Upon Notice of These Distempers, the King sends for the Sergeant of the Mace; and the House refuses him: Whereupon, the Usher of the Black Rod is Dispatch'd, to Dissolve them; but finding no Entrance, at length, the Guard is call'd for, and Then the Members Vanish: After These Provocations, and Contempts, The King Himselfe Dissolves them. This was the Embryo of our late Rebellion: and the Indulgence of That Gracious Prince, to That Ungrateful Faction, was That which Ruin'd him. Whether Design'd, or not, may appear from the Sequel: Divers of the most Popular and Active persons in This Contest being found afterwards Among his Mortal Enemies in the War.

and Dissolu-  
tion.

Having Trac'd the Mischief to This Head; we may be shorter with the Rest: and taking for Granted, that neither Scotland would be out at a Godly Project, nor the English Faction upon any Terms reject their Brotherly Kindness, we may rationally presume that they were of Intelligence, in our succeeding Troubles; especially, if we observe what Time they kept in their motions towards one another.

In

In that which follows, we shall not so much apply our selves to the *Order* of the *Story*, as to the *Noting* of those *Fatalities* which had a most particular *Influence* upon the *Life* and *Fortune* of That *Incomparable Prince*.

In 1634, a Seditious Practice was discover'd in Scotland; and the Lord *Balmorino* detected to be one of the *Prime Conspirators*: His *Father*, out of Nothing, became *Chief Secretary* to King *James*, whom he *Betray'd*; the *Treachery* was *Prov'd*, and the *Traitor* *Condemn'd*, but by the *Mercy* of the *King*, *Restored*, both in *Aloud*, and *Estale*. So was the *Son* found *Guilty*, and *Pardon'd* likewise, by the *Successor* of the *Father's Master*. Never in *Shew* a more *remotif-ful Penitency*: Yet in the next Conspiracy of 1637, who deeper In again, then this *Presbyterian*? It would be hard to find Two Persons of That *Leaven*, to whom the *Late King* ever *refused* his *Grace*, or that did not *abuse* it. The Kings Mercy Abuse'd.

How easily had the *Scotch Rebellion* been *Crush'd* in the *First Tumult*; had not his Majesty's *Excessive Goodness*, *ore-slipped* the Time of Doing it by *Force*, *Abuse'd* again, expecting their Return by *fairer means*. He that would read the greatest *Opposition* that ever was in *Nature*; of *Truth*, and *Falshood*; *Kindness*, and *Malice*; *Mercy*, and *Ingratitude*; *Piety*, and *Wickedness*: Let him but Read the *Story* of the *Scotch-Rebellion* in 1638. drawn by his Majesty's *expresse Command*. The *Perjuries*, *Insanities*, *Forgeries*, and *Usurpations* of the *Holy Kirk* at *Glasgow*: —



gow: and then say, if ever such a Contest of *Light*, and *Darkness*, as betwixt *That Saint*, and *Those Ministers*.

The King Betray'd by his Council.

Nor was his Majesty's *Clemency* abused, more than his *Confidence* betray'd; for to the *Publick Mockery* they made of his *Indulgence*, was added the *Private Correspondence*, and *Treachery* of a *Presbyterian Faction* in his *Council*. (His Majesty himself avers as much.)

Scotch Declar. Pag. 114.

This (says the King in his large Declaration) Our Commissioner did not adventure to communicate with the whole Council, because he did know that some of our Counsellours were Covenanters in Their Hearts, though for Dangerous ends, they had forborn the Subscribing of the Covenant with their Hands, and that They would acquaint the Covenanters with it, with whom they kept Private Meetings.]

The Kings Mercy again abus'd.

The next Eminent Transaction was upon the Interview of the Two Armies near *Berwick*, where his Sacred Majesty had the Rebels Effectually at his *Mercy*, and exhausted himself, and his Friends, to the Despair almost of ever Rayling another Army. Yet even *There* also, was his Majesty perswaded (such was his *Royall Charity*, and *Tenderneſſe* for his *People*.) upon the *Supplication* of the *Rebells* to admit a *Treaty*, and thereupon soon after



to Conclude a Pacification: whereof the Covenanters kept not One Article. Nay, after This, they Libell'd the Kings Proceedings, Broke forth into Fresh Insolencies, and Solicited the Assistance of the French King against their Native Sovereign.

The Ingratitude of the Scotch Presbyterians.

We see the Faith, and Loyalty of the Scotch Presbyterians; Marke now, if the English use him any Better: And That, but in a Word or Two; for 'tis a peevish Subject.

Now see the English.

His Majesty calls a Parliament, that Meets Novemb. 3. 1640. Which by the violence of Tumults abroad, and the Artifice of Fuggles, within-doors, is with much adoe Modelled into a Faction. Observe now the Proportion, betwixt the Favours of the King, and the Returns of the Party: and see the Fruits of Clemency, here likewise.

His Majesty passes the Triennial Bill; Abolishes the Star-chamber: and High-Commission Court; Passes an Act for the Continuance of the Parliament. Not to insist upon the several other Concessions, concerning Ship-mony, Forreists, and Stannary Courts; Tonnage and Poundage; Knighthood, &c.

The Bounty and Grace of the King.

In Requitall of these Benefits, The Presbyterians Clap up, and prosecute his Majesties Friends; Prefer, Enlarge his Enemies; Reward the Scots for a Rebellion; Entertain their Commissioners; Vote them Their Dear Brethren, for Invading us:

The Requital of the Presbyterians.

Call in all *Books* and *Proclamations* against them. Take away the *Bishops Votes*. Impose a *Protestation*: Deny the Earl of *Straffords Life* to the *Intercession* of his *Majesty*. Present him with a *Libellous Remonstrance* to welcome him out of *Scotland*. Charge 12. *Bishops* of *Hight Treason*. Declare the Kings *Proclamation* to be *False, Scandalous, and Illegal*. Petition for the *Militia*. Keep the King out of his own *Towns*, and Seize his *Armes* and *Ammunition*. Send him 19. *Propositions* for the *Delivery* up of his *Authority*. Vote a *General*; and Raise an *Army* against him. They give the King *Battle*. Levy *Monies*. Vote the *Queen* a *Traytour*. Hang up the Kings *Friends*. Enter into a *Rebellious League*. Counterfeit a *Great-Seal*. Call in the *Scots* Again. Abolish the *Common-Prayer*. Seize and Imprison the King; Share the *Revenues* of the *Church*, and *Crown*. Sequester, Banish, Imprison his *Majesties Adherents*; Sell him, Depose him, and at last, call themselves his *Majesties best Subjects* because they did not MURDER him.



His Maj. sties  
Patience and  
Goodnesse  
Ruin'd him.

Upon the whole Matter, That Blessed *Martyr's* Transcendent *Charity* undid him. How many did he *Oblige* and *Advance*, in hopes to *Win*, and *Reclaim* them? How many did he *Pardon* and *Cherish*, in *Confidence* of their *Pretended Repentance*? How long did his *Patience* forbear *Others*, in expectation of their *Return*? And how unwilling was He to call any thing *Schism*, which the *Faction* call'd *Scruples*? Till (Alas!) too Late; he found his *Bounties* abus'd; His *Merces* misplaced; His *Waitings* *Frustrated*; His *Charity* *Deluded*; and in  
Short

short, no other use made of all his *Pieties*, and *Virtues*, then to his proper Ruine; For while his Sacred Majesty suspended the exercise of his *Politick Severity*, under the amusement of a *Religious Tenderness*; the *Sectaries* became *Bold* upon his *Favour*, and strong by the advantage they made of his *Patience*.

There were indeed some other *pravius Encouragements* to the *Warr*; as the *Remissness* of *Diverse Bishops* in Matter of *Uniformity*; The sufferance of *Faction Meetings*, &c. --- But the Two *Grand Fatalities* were *These*. The King WANTED MONY; and TRUSTED PRESBYTERIANS.

The Kings  
grand Fatali-  
ties.

*Dum Clementiam, quam prestituerat, expectat,  
INCAUTUS ab INGRATIS Occupatus est.*

Vell. Patern. Hist. Lib. 3.

The End of the First Part.

THE  
CONTENTS  
OF THE  
First Part.

---

CAP. I.

THE Matter and Causes of Seditions in Ge-  
nerall. Pag. 1.

CAP. II.

The Tokens and Prognosticks of Seditions. 4.

CAP. III.

The True Cause of the Late War, was AMBI-  
TION. 10.

CAP.

## The Contents of the First Part.

### CAP. IV.

*The Instruments, and Means, which the Conspirators  
employed to make a Party.* 162

### CAP. V.

*A short View of the Breaches, and Confusions betwixt  
the Two Factions, from 1648. to 1654.* 24.

### CAP. VI.

*The Temper, Streights, and Politiques, of Cromwell  
during his Protectorship.* 30.

### CAP. VII.

*A short Account from the Death of the Tyrant  
Oliver, to the Return of Charles the Second,  
(whom God Preserve from his Fathers Enemies.)* 48.

### CAP. VIII.

*The Usurper Oliver was principally distressed by the  
Warr with Spain, and his Standing-Army.* 61.

### CAP. IX.

*Of Seditions in Particular; and shewing in what  
manner they arise from These Seven Interests,  
The Church; the Bench; the Court; the Camp;  
the City; the Country; and the Body Re-  
presentative.* 85.

Kk 3

Sect..

# The Contents of the First Part.

SECT. I.	
<i>Seditions arising from the</i> CHURCH.	Pag. 85.
SECT. II.	
THE BENCH.	96.
SECT. III.	
THE COURT.	99.
Subsection I.	
Over-greatness in One Counsellour.	100.
Subsection II.	
The Combination of Divers Counsellours.	106.
SECT. IV.	
THE CAMP.	114.
SECT. V.	
THE CITY.	117.
Subsection I.	
<i>Seditions arising from Religion.</i>	121.
Subsection II.	
<i>Oppression.</i>	126.
Subsection III.	
<i>Privileges.</i>	128.
Subsection IV.	
<i>Poverty.</i>	130.
SECT. VI.	
THE COUNTRY.	139.
SECT. VII.	
THE BODY REPRESENTATIVE.	143.
	CAP.

# The Contents of the First Part.

## CAP. X.

*How to prevent the Beginnings, and hinder the Growth of Seditions in General; together with certain Particular Remedies, apply'd to the Distempers of Those Seven Interests, mentioned in the foregoing Chapter.* pag. 152.

### SECT. I.

*By what means, Heresies, and Schismes, may be kept out of the CHURCH; Their Encrease hinder'd, and the Seditious Consequences of Them Prevented, with the Remedies of other Mischiefes arising from Disorders in the CHURCH.* 159.

### SECT. II.

*How to prevent Seditions arising from the Disorders of the BENCH.* 167.

### SECT. III.

*How to Prevent, or Remedy Seditions arising from the Disorders of the COURT.* 177.

#### Subsection I.

*The Remedies of certain hazzards arising from the Over-greatnesse of One Counsellour.* 182.

#### Subsection II.

*How to prevent a Combination of Diverſe Counsellours.* 197.

### SECT. IV.

*How to Prevent Disorders arising from the CAMP.* 201.

### SECT. V.

*How to Prevent, or Remedy Seditions arising from the CITY.* 205.  
Sect.

The Contents of the First Part.

SECT. VI.

How to Prevent Seditions from the COUNTRY. 217.

SECT. VII.

Certain Cautions directing how to prevent, and avoid, Disorders arising from the BODY REPRESENTATIVE. 217.

CAP. XI.

Certain Reflections upon the Felicity, and Advantages of the Government of England; with some Observations upon the Present juncture. 217.

CAP. XII.

What is was Principally, that Ruin'd King Charles the MARTYR. 236.

The End of the Contents of the First Part.

SECT. IV.

How to Prevent Disorders arising from the CAMP. 201.

SECT. V.

How to Prevent Disorders arising from the CITY. 201.